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APRIL 26, 1974

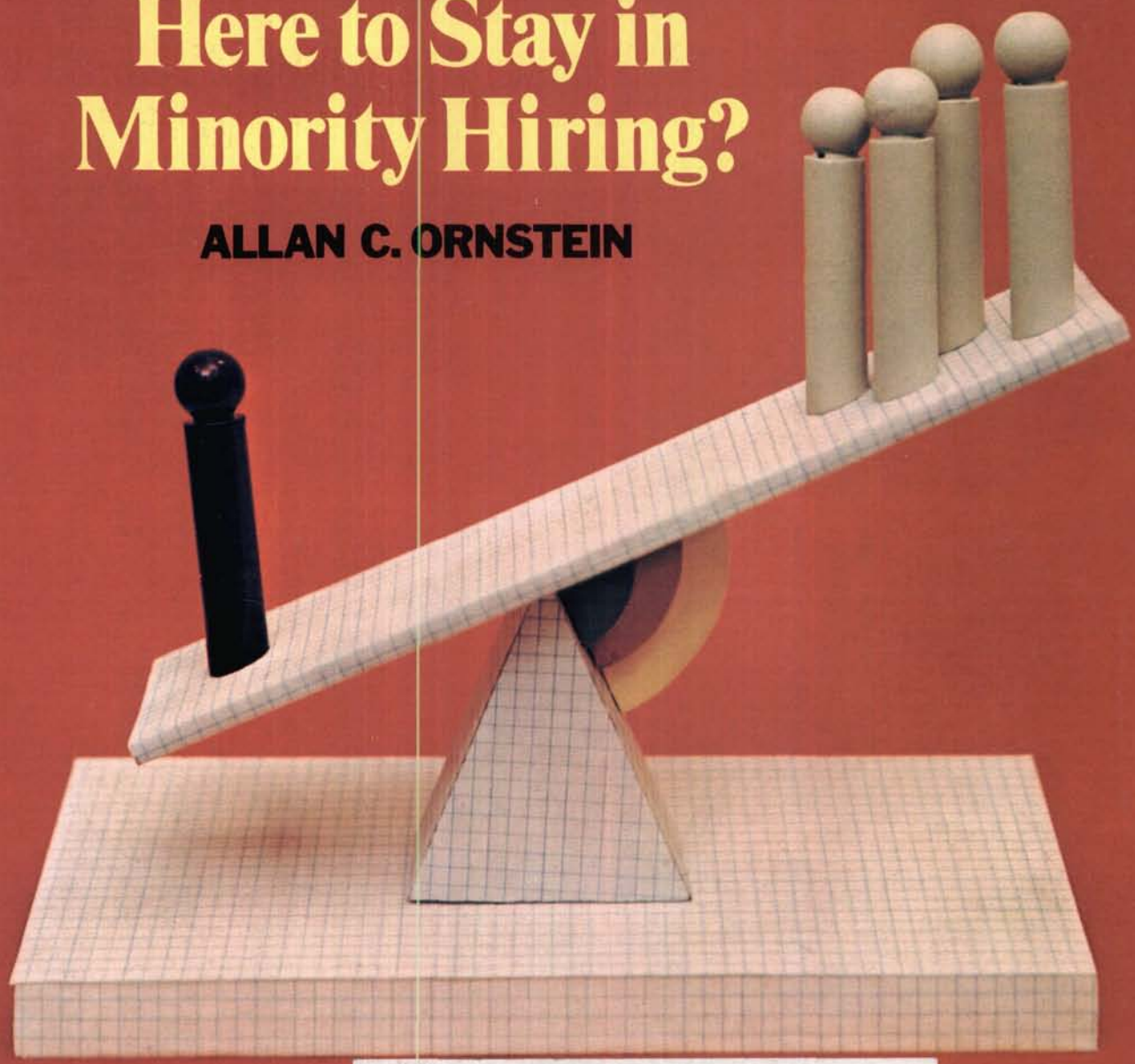
NR
NATIONAL REVIEW

10 Answers to the Energy Crisis That Are Obvious, and False

ALAN REYNOLDS

Are Quotas Here to Stay in Minority Hiring?

ALLAN C. ORNSTEIN



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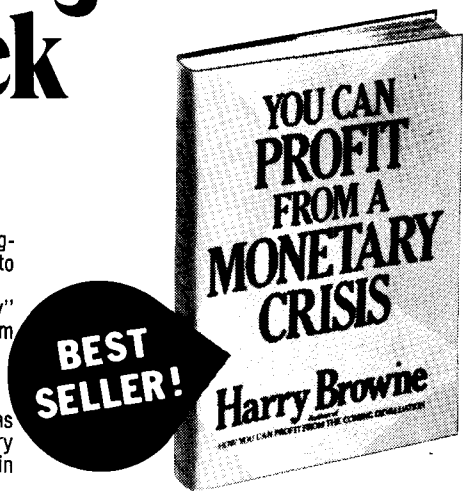

If you had taken Harry Browne's advice in 1970, you'd be a lot richer now. But it's not too late. . . .

The worried faces you see on Wall Street these days are owned by the people who scoffed at Harry Browne's 1970 bestseller, **How You Can Profit from the Coming Devaluation.** They put their money in blue chips and gained 18%. (That is, they really lost in 3 years, because of inflation.)

But those who listened to Harry Browne saw their money grow by 96% in 3 years.

Now, says Mr. Browne, the biggest crises lie ahead—but so do the biggest opportunities.

ANOTHER SCARE BOOK?

Just the opposite! Harry Browne says:

Violent stock markets and currency crises need **not** worry you any more. If you just take these steps, you can **relax:**

- Learn the 7 sovereign investment principles for the 70s. (They don't assure a profit every time, but they **guarantee** against disaster.)
- Follow the guideline that lets you pick an investment, then **forget about it.**
- 7 rules to tailor your financial program to your own personal needs—**and your own psychological makeup.** In other words: pick the program **you** can live with.
- 9 additional points you must consider in picking ***your*** *best program.*

IS THE BROWNE SYSTEM TOO SOPHISTICATED FOR YOU?

Make no mistake—Harry Browne does give you some highly sophisticated techniques. BUT—**he has written them for the average person with no financial expertise.** EVERYTHING is explained! You'll have no trouble following Mr. Browne as he answers questions like:

- ☐ For the near and the intermediate future, should you get in or get out of stocks...real estate... savings banks . . . bonds . . . art . . . mutual funds . . . commodities . . . rare coins . . . *diamonds . . . loans and mortgages?*
- ☐ What are your potential gains—measured in actual dollars—from now through 1978 for gold . . . silver . . . recommended currencies . . . recommended coins?
- ☐ The two kinds of depression: which kind are we in for? How do you protect yourself against **both?**
- ☐ The key question: when do you cash in your profits and sell?

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If that's your worry, Harry Browne gives you 4 guidelines that will cheer you . . . 3 reasons why you can still take action . . . plus 4 emergency ideas even if you wait too long!

Most helpful: Mr. Browne positions you for the crises ahead, helps you get your bearings in these days when the financial picture makes most men and women dizzy . . .

- The three acts in the bitter drama of the 70s. (We're still in Act One. What's coming in Acts Two and Three?)
- 20 steps on the road to currency ruin. (We're now at #5—**the decisive phase.**)
- 5 steps that **must** come before these monetary crises end (and never mind what government spokesmen tell you).
- Why the dollar decline has **not** ended.
- 9 rules to help the businessman cope with the troubles ahead.

DO YOU HAVE TO BE RICH TO USE THE BROWNE SYSTEM?

Definitely not. Harry Browne has broken down his recommended programs two ways. It's literally true: he has one or more programs for practically everyone . . .

→ Specific breakdown of funds for investors ranging from "tiny" ($500-$2500) all the way up to "extra large" ($500,000 or more)

→ 7 basic programs for **each** category from "tiny" to "extra large"—with programs ranging from "safe" to "go for broke"

BLESSED RELIEF FROM FINANCIAL FEARS

Only a fool could look at the money problems we have today and not feel nervous. But Harry Browne shows you how to put your affairs in order and **quit worrying yourself to death.**

What's more, he spells out **in plain English** a wide choice of moves you can make—**and how to go about making each one.** Remember, not all of these moves will be right for **you.** But Mr. Browne shows you how to pick the ones that fit your situation

- ✲ 7 questions to ask yourself before making **any** kind of money decision
- ✲ Every kind of investment rated and compared for 13 key advantages—plus the 5 main risks
- ✲ 7 ways to raise quick cash
- ✲ For people on pensions: a sophisticated (yet simple) technique for protecting the value of your pension against brutal inflation
- ✲ 3 ways to invest in gold—2 of them legal. The one risk in gold
- ✲ Silver: will it necessarily follow the price of gold? One way silver surpasses other recommended investments. 2 possible risks. 3 ways to invest — but only 2 recommended. Silver coins: when is your risk minimal?
- ✲ "Hot" and "cold" currencies. Opportunities—and risks — in both. 4 rules for picking the strongest currencies. 26 major currencies compared. Table of potential gain—or loss—for all 26 currencies
- ✲ Recommended brokers, investment counsellors, newsletters, coin dealers, books
- ✲ 7 ways to safeguard your financial privacy
- ✲ 7 benefits of a Swiss bank account **for the average man.** 5 recommended banks. 7 types of account — all perfectly legal. Glossary of terms used by Swiss banks. Numbered accounts. Negative interest. 3 kinds of Swiss bank: which is best for you? Step-by-step: how to open a Swiss account. Is there a danger that Swiss funds could be frozen? 5 other investments in Switzerland. One firm that helps you cope with dealings abroad
- ✲ Leverage explained. The rule on margin calls —and the exception you should know about
- ✲ One form of annuity less subject to loss from *inflation*
- ✲ Speculating in futures: 2 rules for avoiding deep losses
- ✲ An interesting way to speculate for big gains in currency at small cost—**with no time limit.** One danger in going long on the dollar.

RUIN AHEAD? NOT FOR EVERYONE...

The monetary crises still facing us will make 1929 look like a piece of cake, says Harry Browne. But — as in 1929 — some foresighted men and women will actually prosper.

Will you be one of them? It's up to you. After Harry Browne's record since 1970, any man or *woman who refuses to think about his canny,* sober advice is living recklessly.

Easy on the average reader: Browne's systematic approach, with dozens of checklists plus...

• 3 tables • 2 charts • 397 pages • glossary • bibliography

"I assure you that I'm not a pessimist. I enjoy life, and I'm not given to whispered stories about conspiracies. But part of the reason I enjoy life is that I *have* recognized where the events of the past and present are taking us, and I've made provisions so that I no longer have to worry about it."—*Harry Browne*

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NR NATIONAL REVIEW VOL. XXVI, NO. 17 APRIL 26, 1974

IN THIS ISSUE . . .

. . . we discuss various aspects of the *crise de régime*. **WFB**, just back from a trip to Africa where he taped *Firing Lines*, devotes his three columns to questions of impeachment, resignation, and the state of the union. Mr. **C. Dickerman Williams**, *NR*'s expert on constitutional matters and all things litigious, suggests the President avail himself of the 25th Amendment and name Gerald Ford acting President until the impeachment procedures have run their course.

Mr. **Ornstein**, author of ten books, two of which (*Race and Politics in School Community Organizations* and *Reforming Metropolitan Schools*) will be published this year, tells how the Labor Department and HEW are forcing discriminatory hiring on businesses, which didn't particularly ask for it, and on the universities, many of which did. . . . Mr. **Varnado** adds leaven to the issue with "Fear Fans Out." He thus describes himself: "Politically I am a compleat Conservative; a *petit bourgeois*, a rentier, I am to the left of Turgot, to the right of Veblen, but always streaking down the middle of the silent majority."

This is our big spring book issue, eight sharply honed pages that include such stars as **Keith Mano** on the much ballyhooed *Watership Down*, **Edwin Yoder** on the book about *The New York Review of Books*, **Ruth Berenson** on Kenneth Clark's successor to *Civilization*, and **Charles Nicol** on *Pilgrim at Tinker Creek* (he liked it better than did Eudora Welty). —PLB

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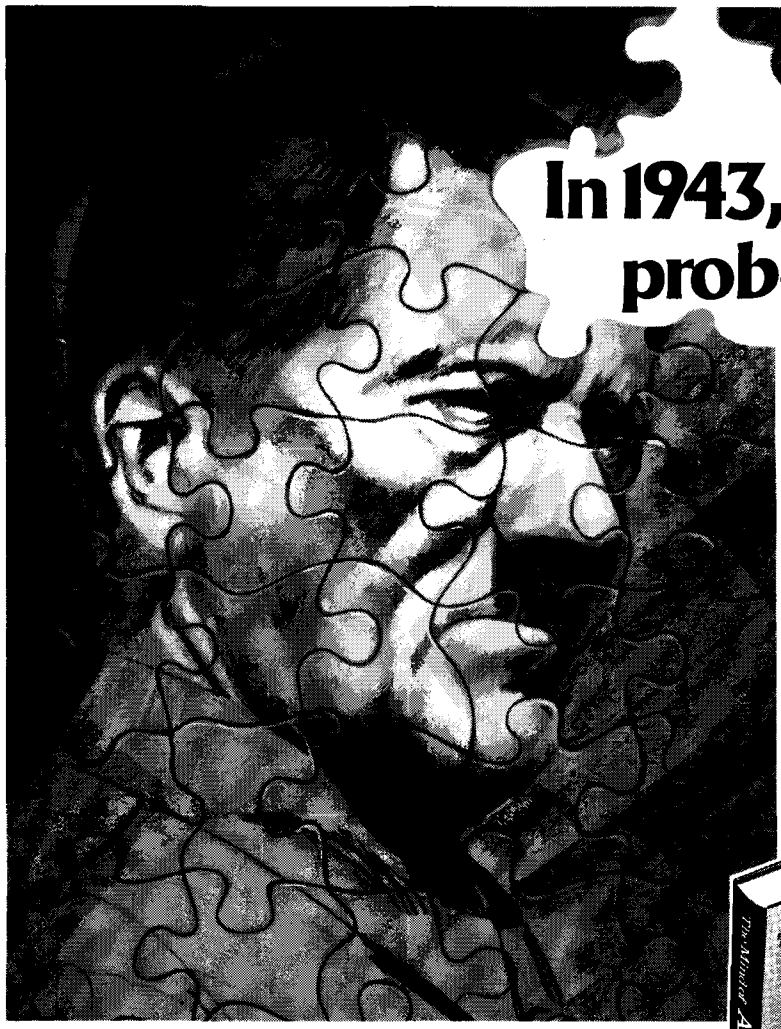
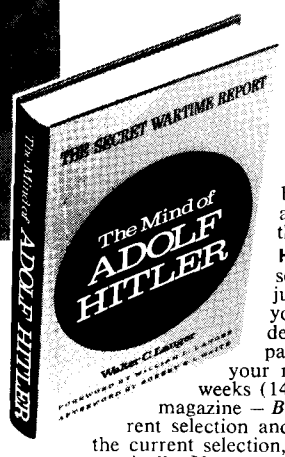


In 1943, a psychoanalyst probed the mind of Adolf Hitler.

Here is his report...

- Two Hitlers "occupy the same body. The first weeps profusely at the death of his canary. The second can order the murder of his best friends."
- "It is probably true that he is impotent. His perversion has quite a different nature ..."
- "Secret fears and anxieties haunt him. He wakes up in the night shaking and screaming. He is afraid to go to sleep."
- "Throughout his life, he showed that he was haunted by the fear that he himself might have 'Jewish blood'."



Could the O.S.S. use "psychological warfare" to break Hitler down? That's what General "Wild Bill" Donovan commissioned psychoanalyst Walter Langer to find out back in 1943. Now, after 29 years in top-secret intelligence files, the entire report has been released. Take *The Mind of Adolf Hitler,* if you wish, as *one* of your 4 introductory books—all for only 98¢ plus shipping and handling, with trial membership in the Military Book Club.

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Letters

Buckley on Nixon

I am glad NATIONAL REVIEW printed James L. Buckley's statement and the long section of commentary on it [April 12]. Resignation needs a good deal more serious discussion than it has been getting.

Wherever the fault originally lay (and I think it is divided about evenly between President Nixon's lack of respect for the intelligence of his constituents, and the media's desire to get rid of him by fair means or foul), the fact remains that the President is now in a position where he cannot govern. The real question is: would the precedent set by his resignation (since, despite the impressive list of precedents cited by your editorial in the same issue, it would be unprecedented for an American President to resign in midterm) be more dangerous to the country than impeachment (the dangers of which Senator Buckley has so chillingly described)?

I have not decided what I think the answer is, but I applaud Senator Buckley for daring to raise the question.

New York, N.Y. JAMES ANDREWS

I am surprised and dismayed by Senator Buckley's announcement calling for Mr. Nixon's resignation.

Up to this point, the vicious, slanderous, repetitious, unfair incantations of the sanctimonious pack that is out to get Mr. Nixon had just about run their course. True, a few liberal Republicans had bolted from ranks under this drivel to keep their options open—but this is probably all to the good.

However, if the rank and file of conservative Republicans can be made to flee, just when and where do we confront and put down these nitpickers?

Slingerlands, N.Y. JAMES H. WESTERVELT

I have supported Senator Buckley for many years now. But I cannot go along with his demand that President Nixon resign because of Watergate. To say that resignation would be an act of statesmanship and patriotism obviously plays right into the hands of the baying pack of left wing wolves who have been out to get Richard Nixon on whatever pretext since Alger Hiss.

No, Senator Buckley, the President *must stand firm*—he must not allow himself to be cowed by the Left, by the media, by the demonstrators, by Ervin, Rodino, or Mills, by the streakers, or even by you—for the sake of the country, for the sake of conservatism, for the sake of the Party, yes, and for your sake, too, in 1976 and thereafter.

New York, N.Y. WILLIAM C. BRADY

In beautiful words that pleaded for the good of the Republican Party and the nation Senator Buckley suggested that the resignation of President Richard Nixon was the best way out of Watergate.

I disagree. Extreme licentiousness in news handling of Watergate by powerful media combinations—not Watergate per se—is the prime divisive force in our great nation. The foremost challenge to Congress is to restore disciplines within the media that were the rule until recently.

Senator Buckley's solution for Watergate, I feel, is not a solution but appeasement that would encourage the liberal media and the controlling party in Congress to upset Presidencies of the future at will. Let's face the issue now on constitutional grounds for impeachment—not political expediency—as that is the only way that we can keep in office in this nuclear age a vindicated President Nixon or an unweakened President Ford.

Columbus, Tex. CHARLES B. BOONE
Republican County Chairman
Fayette County

As a conservative Republican, my congratulations to Senator Buckley for asking that the President resign. If Mr. Nixon does not resign, there will be a slaughter of the Republican Party, and a deluge of new liberal legislation, as happened after the disaster of 1964. But if he does resign, we are almost guaranteed a Republican President for the next ten years. What a wonderful opportunity! There's a Ford in our future.

San Diego, Calif. MARK TERRY

I just despatched a card to the honorable James Buckley of New York. It bore only one word: CHICKEN!

Dubuque, Iowa MICHAEL BURGHER

I was very disappointed to hear Senator

(Continues on page 460)

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What, Exactly, is Going On?

—In *stocks* and *bonds*: the market is as treacherous as a mine field.
—In *real estate*: prices are at an all time high—but virtually nobody can buy or sell because there's no mortgage money around.
—*Shortages*: they're showing up everywhere! Paper goods. Lumber. Fuel oil and gas. Electricity. Steel. Food. *What next?*
—*Cash* and *savings*: you earn 6% to 8-1/2% interest—and lose 15% to inflation!
—*Precious metals*: values bounce around like ping-pong balls in unpredictable fashion.

What is going on? Let me tell you: we are witnessing new economic patterns unlike anything we have seen in this lifetime. We are witnessing inflation with rising prices and critical shortages—some very real—some imaginary, but carefully staged for the benefit of a few shrewd companies or individuals. We are observing a world that, despite short term fluctuations, is openly expressing its mistrust of the value of our dollars. And we are witnessing the world's superpowers teetering precariously on the brink of runaway inflation, depression, or *both*.

The next few years will belong to those who understand that *these new economic patterns are still based on the natural economic laws that are as old as civilization*: supply and demand, self-interest and greed, the domination of the blind and the faint-hearted by those who have the courage to *act* rather than to foolishly do *nothing* while "hoping for things to get better."

There is a select group of men in this country who long ago predicted the approaching crisis . . . and who now can see clearly into the future because they have never been blinded by fairy-tale economics. They have been in close touch with each other, while the rest of the world has chosen pretty much to ignore them . . . and *many of them have already made great fortunes* by acting upon their own predictions about gold, silver, coins, mining stocks, etc.

The publisher of *Human Events*, the Washington newsweekly, has invited the most brilliant of these economic clearthinkers to join in the publication of a new bi-weekly letter . . .

THE *INFLATION SURVIVAL LETTER*

. . . which is intended to show you, *in simple, non-technical English, how to capitalize on the financial blindness of others*, and avoid the consequences of our nation's tremendous economic mistakes. The *Inflation Survival Letter* will also keep you informed of latest worldwide economic and political realities that bear on the inflation-depression crisis. Since most of the mass media will continue to ignore these realities, chances are that most of this critical news and economic analysis will be found only in the *Inflation Survival Letter*. *ISL* will cover coins and precious metals, gold shares, commodities, agriculture, legislation and legal decisions, the energy supply, international trade, science—*every* topic that effects your assets—and their future value. Typical of the subjects that are covered:

- Current trends in gold and silver *coins*, *bullion*, and *mining stocks*. Specific action to take regarding precious metals investments.
- How to "read between the lines" of your newspaper to spot upcoming price rises or major economic upheavals.
- How inflation and depression will affect you if you are involved in a pension plan, deferred tax plan or trust fund.
- A smart way to stock your freezer against a lightning disaster.
- Latest legislation and court decision that will affect your assets—or offer a real investment opportunity.
- How to avoid the pitfalls in buying or selling a home during a period of galloping inflation.
- Foreign currencies: another approach to inflation-proofing your assets.
- Specific dos and don'ts on stock and commodities options, margin buying, short selling.
- Common sense guidance on choosing, buying and supplying that rural "hideaway" if the worst happens, and complete nationwide economic collapse brings on civil riots.

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Among the other regular contributors . . .

- *John McFalls* is proprietor of Value Action advisory service, Seattle, Washington. The value of his model gold investment portfolio has tripled in the past six years.
- *Dr. Hans F. Sennholz*, head of the Department of Economics of Grove City College, Grove City, Pa., is one of the world's leading monetary economists.
- *Douglas Johnston*, vice president of the stock brokerage firm of First of Texas, is well and favorably known for his accurate predictions of the gold price break-out in 1973.
- *Henry Hazlitt* is one of America's best known economists. His book "Economics in One Lesson" is the most widely read non-technical book on the subject.
- *Dr. Murray Rothbard* is the leading libertarian theorist in the United States. His first book, "America's Great Depression" (1963) has become an incredibly accurate blueprint of the economic woes which have beset the nation in the past 10 years.
- *Alden Rice Wells* of Exeter, N.H., is both a stock broker and an investment advisor of worldwide renown. His "Monthly Report" and "Quarterly Report" are bibles for "hard-money" investors.
- *Congressman Philip M. Crane* is the leading Congressional force behind legislation to return the legal rights of gold ownership to the American people.
- *Senator Peter Dominick* is the U.S. Senate's expert on gold and silver mining, and an advocate of the U.S. citizen's right to own gold.
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FOR THE RECORD

■ What the people are thinking. On the right, a *Human Events* query of its readers: do you think President **Nixon** should be impeached or that he should resign? brought in 200 letters, 75 per cent of which oppose both **impeachment** and **resignation**. . . . A more detailed survey by Fulton Lewis' *Exclusive* (also directed to conservative readers) reaches much the same conclusion: Nixon should stay in office, 73 per cent; he should be impeached *and cleared*, 18 per cent; he should resign, 4 per cent; he should be impeached *and found guilty*, 2 per cent; a constitutional amendment should be passed to permit new presidential elections in similar (God help us) situations, 3 per cent. . . . A recent *National Observer* plebiscite of its readers on the question of compulsory federal **gasoline rationing** showed 75 per cent opposed, 24 per cent in favor. The figures in *Exclusive* were much more onesided: 97 per cent against rationing, 3 per cent for. . . . On **abortion**, a little over a year after the Supreme Court decision, the country remains evenly divided: 47 per cent favor abortion (within the first three months), and 44 per cent are opposed. A year ago it was 46 in favor, 45 opposed: 61 per cent of the Catholics oppose it.

■ One story of the **Hearst** kidnapping has it that the Hearsts went to Mexico to try to contact French revolutionary journalist **Régis Debray** and get him to intercede with the SLA for Patricia's release. It is known that Debray (he was with **Che Guevara** when Guevara was killed in Bolivia) was recently refused a visa to visit the United States. The Hearsts have also contacted **Dennis Banks**, head of the American Indian Movement, who says he will try to get in touch with the SLA and get them to give Patricia a "pass" to visit her family for a limited time. . . . *Interdependent*, the new magazine of the UN Association of the United States, reports 268 people have been killed in international **terrorist attacks** in the last six years, and 517 wounded. The attacks have cost $163 million in destroyed property and netted $32 million in ransom payments.

■ It's bad news indeed from Special Prosecutor **Leon Jaworski**: he estimates it will be two or three years before the final Watergate-related cases will be wound up. . . . A new Harris Poll shows that **George Wallace** runs worse against **Gerald Ford** in a presidential preference poll than most other Democratic possibilities. In the Wallace-Ford race, Ford upsets Wallace 55 per cent to 36 per cent. In other lineups, it's **Kennedy** 49 per cent, Ford 45 per cent; Ford and **Henry Jackson** came out tied, 45 to 45 per cent. . . . *Christian Science Monitor* reports two more important White House aides will be leaving soon: **Peter Flanigan**, executive director of the Council on International Economic Policy, and **Frederick Malek**, in the Office of Management and Budget. . . . A group of **students** at the University of Miami has asked IRS to lift the ACLU's tax exemption for engaging in political activities by running newspaper ads urging Mr. Nixon's impeachment. . . . Democratic Party leaders in Westchester County, N.Y. have picked **Richard Ottinger** (the Democrat in the 1970 senatorial race in New York State) as their candidate for the seat being vacated by Republican-turned-Democrat **Ogden Reid**. Reid is running for governor.

Punch Rothco

"Live within our means! My God, don't say it's come to that."

■ One, Two, Three: British Foreign Minister **James Callaghan** has suspended Britain's $1-million aid program to Chile. Chilean Minister of Mines **Arturo Yovanne** has recommended that his government suspend copper exports to Britain. A spokesman for the British Federation of Nonferrous Metals warns that the Chilean decision poses "a serious threat to our industrial supplies." . . . The Swedish Volvo Motor Company has announced that it will cut off all investments in **South Africa** in a protest against South Africa's policy of apartheid. . . . A familiar name has turned up on a letter to authorities in Moscow in praise of dissident **Andrei Sakharov**. It was signed by 16 Soviet political prisoners including **Simas Kudirka**, the Lithuanian seaman who jumped aboard a U.S. Coast Guard vessel a couple of years ago and was turned over to Soviet authorities. . . . And in case you'd like to know, the three wives **Idi Amin** divorced in his own Saturday Night Massacre were **Kay**, **Nora**, and **Mama Mariam**. (He remains married to **Madina**.)

■ Chilling statistic: An MIT study by Dr. **Arnold Barnett** finds that a baby born this year in one of the 50 largest cities in America has a 2 per cent chance of being murdered; is in fact more likely to be murdered than an American soldier in WW II was likely to die in combat.

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"Professor Greaves' book...

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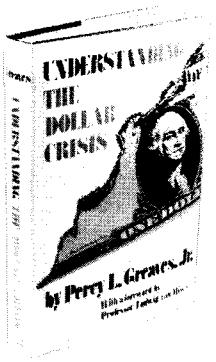

Announcing UNDERSTANDING THE DOLLAR CRISIS by Percy L. Greaves, Jr., with a Foreword by Ludwig von Mises—the first non-technical book showing why and how capitalism works.

Economist Henry Hazlitt writes: "What has been lacking is a book of intermediate length to introduce readers to a full appreciation of the Misesian principles and insights. Professor Greaves' book, among its other merits, admirably meets this need... [Readers will] find the exposition simple, clear and condensed."

Lawrence Fertig, author of PROSPERITY THROUGH FREEDOM, writes: It explains so much in an understandable and interesting way...."

And Ludwig von Mises wrote: "Professor Greaves has an exceptional understanding of free market theory and its application to money. I hope his book has a great success."

Professor Greaves' special talent is explaining complex economic and financial problems in plain-spoken, non-technical language. Step-by-step, in this new book, he shows:

- The nature of economics and its importance to you;
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- 2 common fallacies about money;
- 3 reasons why gold functions well as money;
- Why *all* participants gain in free market transactions;
- Why socialism can't work;
- Why capitalism is depression-free;
- How inflation is created—and 5 ways it hurts you;
- The current monetary crisis—Where is it leading? How bad will it get? What must we do to save our civilization?

And drawing upon his vast knowledge of the history of capitalism, Professor Greaves spices his book with little known nuggets including:

- How Karl Marx built his entire theory upon Adam Smith's mistaken theory of value;
- How political intervention in the economy—not free enterprise—created the inflationary boom of the '20s which culminated in the Great Depression of the '30s;
- How Hitler used wage and price controls, and what the results were —Professor Greaves' first-hand account.

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UNDERSTANDING THE DOLLAR CRISIS was originally delivered as a series of lectures to the Centro de Estudios sobre la Libertad, in Buenos Aires. All 33 tables and 42 non-technical examples Professor Greaves used to illustrate the theory, history, and applications, are included.

Long-time Associate of Ludwig von Mises

After a successful career in business and politics, Professor Greaves became a noted student and associate of Ludwig von Mises. He was Chairman of the Mises Circle for 12 years and the Armstrong Professor of Economics, with Professor Mises, at the University of Plano, Texas.

For 5 years, Professor Greaves spoke at Seminars, and led discussions for the Foundation for Economic Education. He has conducted 57 series of lectures, including 4 as a co-lecturer with Professor Mises.

Professor Greaves has written essays for 6 books including PERPETUAL WAR FOR PERPETUAL PEACE and ON FREEDOM AND FREE ENTERPRISE. He was Financial Editor for *U.S. News* and has written for the *Chicago Tribune, National Review, Human Events, The Freeman* and other publications in North and South America, Europe and Asia.

Moreover, in lively give-and-take sessions following each lecture, Professor Greaves' listeners questioned him, probing for possible problems and expanding on areas of intense interest.

This 76 question exchange is, to the best of our knowledge, unique in the literature of capitalism. One reader was moved to write: "The answer to the last question in the book is worth more than the cost of the entire book."

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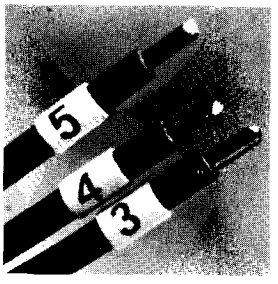

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Buckley come out and call for President Nixon's resignation. I feel it would be a tragedy for President Nixon to resign since he hasn't been found guilty of any wrongdoing. He has made great strides in foreign policy and lessening world tensions.

Sometimes I feel as though I am the only one left who still admires the President, thanks to the news media. However, I still admire and respect Senator Buckley as much as I do the President.

Collegeville, Pa. RONALD SWARTLEY

Imperialism . . .

"The New Imperialism," by Lewis S. Feuer: "A provocative thesis persuasively argued" ["In This Issue," March 29]. Is that a polite way of saying: a thesis we don't think highly of ourselves, dogmatically and emotionally argued? Right?

Whiting, Ind. R. E. THOMPSON

Wrong. Following NR*'s custom, we said what we meant.* —ED.

. . . and Self-Determination

In his article comparing Wilson and Lenin ["Wilson Is Overtaking Lenin," Feb. 15], John Lukacs made a major error in dismissing Lenin as a commonplace Marxist and crediting Wilson (by implication) with the authorship of national self-determination.

In the early 1900s, long before Wilson and the U.S. paid much attention to world affairs, Lenin embraced the cause of Polish, Finnish, and other nationalists, potential allies in the struggle against the czarist Russian state. For this opportunism, he was roundly denounced by Rosa Luxemburg and other Marxist internationalists.

When Wilson came out for national self-determination in 1917, he was merely taking up a slogan that had been circulating among "progressive" Europeans for years.

In 1915, Lenin tried to explain the "social chauvinism" (i.e., pro-war patriotism) and lack of revolutionary spirit among most European Socialists in his work *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism.* According to his theory, the bourgeoisie of industrialized nations could afford to bribe their indigenous proletariat only by using the superprofits from the exploitation of colonies. Therefore, the best way to bring on class warfare and revolution was to support national self-determination for the backward countries, thus cutting off the industrialized world from corrupting superprofits.

In accordance with this theory, the Soviet Union has supported many non- or anti-Communists of the Third World, from Turkey's Kemal in 1920 to Egypt's Sadat today. The present oil crisis is considered by the Soviets to be a clear indication of Lenin's prescience.

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Thus, while Wilsonian self-righteousness has become discredited in America, Lenin's "opportunist" support of bourgeois nationalism is still esteemed highly by Soviet diplomats.
Boston, Mass. HUGO S. CUNNINGHAM

George Will . . .

Immediately upon receipt of my copy of *NR*, I always turn to George F. Will's column, "Capitol Issues." What a magnificent writer he is—every article of his glistens with the clarity and brilliance of a many-faceted jewel.

Great praise and appreciation to GFW for his incisive thought and superb prose. What style!
Buffalo, N.Y. LANI LANGLAIS

Is Cronkite writing Will's stuff?
Hammond, Ind. THOMAS F. DOOLEY

. . . and Rationing

For once I have read an article that clearly explained why there should not be rationing. The article "Do It" by George F. Will [March 1] was easily understandable. Gas rationing has become a very controversial subject. As a high school senior I have heard it discussed in many classes, but few have argued against the issue as well as Mr. Will.

I hope to see more such articles in forthcoming issues.
Marshalltown, Iowa SHEILA FALLIS

George F. Will states that the gasoline shortage has one beneficial byproduct: "the nation rediscovers the utility of federalism." Federalism, according to Will, allows each state to find its own answer to long gas lines even though the results may produce "untidiness as a matter of principle." He misses the point. Advocates of a national solution to the gasoline shortage problem are not bothered with the "untidiness" of a state-by-state rule. They're angered with the inequality of a system which allows each state to "do it" its way. The odd-even plan initiated by Governor McCall in Oregon works fine if you are lucky enough to have two cars and a teenage child to car-sit in a long gas line at 7:00 A.M. Will concludes that "the clever men who founded a federal republic favored . . . untidiness as a matter of principle" but then those clever men in 1787 were hitching horses in Philadelphia rather than scanning the highways for a gas station with a green flag waving, and a sign that did not say "Regular Customers Only."
Salem, Ore. ELIZABETH JOINER

Under a uniform, national, and therefore centralistic system, if the bureaucracy makes a mistake, everyone suffers. Whereas if each state is allowed to devise its own plan, chances are some of them will come up with workable plans; and the states whose plans do not work can imitate their neighbors whose plans do. —ED.

Getting at St. Thomas

In his comments on the new biography of St. Thomas Aquinas, M. J. Sobran Jr. [March 1] opens and closes with the comment that the need is a way of "getting at" the mind and thought of St. Thomas.

No problem.

The finest modern interpretation of St. Thomas, written simply and lucidly, so that any thoughtful layman can come to understand his thought, is the four-volume *A Companion to the Summa*, by the late Father Walter Farrell, OP.

Farrell has no match in explaining St. Thomas clearly and brilliantly. Unfortunately, the work, originally published by Sheed and Ward, is now out of print. And all efforts to get it back in print have failed.

If some publisher really wants to perform a service for God and civilization, this is his challenge and opportunity. Nothing, but nothing, he could do would ever match this contribution to mankind.
Downers Grove, Ill. RUDOLPH M. UNGER

The Dissidents' Appeal

I want to express my sympathy and support for the appeal of the Soviet dissidents published in *NR* [March 29]. Please let me know if an American committee is formed and how the efforts on their behalf can be helped.
Northridge, Calif. MARTIN PUNDEFF
Professor of Russian History
California State University

We are waiting for word from the European sponsors of the Appeal before we proceed any further. We shall let our readers know as soon as a decision has been made on whether to form an American committee. Meanwhile, the initial response to the Appeal has been gratifying (the letters printed here are just a sampling of those we have received); many thanks to those who have written.
—ED.

This is to make known my personal support for the Appeal which was printed in NATIONAL REVIEW, calling attention to the continued oppressive nature of the Soviet regime. I am overjoyed that NATIONAL REVIEW has taken it upon itself to put forth such an important statement.

It is quite unfortunate that there are some in the Soviet Union who are willing

(Continues on page 497)

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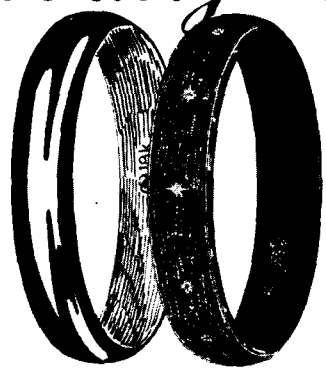

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THE WEEK

■ Sometimes you *can* lose them all. The Cedars of Lebanon Hospital, whose brand new wing Richard Nixon dedicated with considerable dash on St. Valentine's Day, has filed for bankruptcy.

■ Before Ralph Nader got government into the business of making our lives 1,000 per cent safe, there were simple rules of office etiquette: he who was most important to the firm did pretty much as he pleased, and everyone else accommodated himself, or left. Nowadays this is all changing. A secretary in the Austin, Texas Department of Health tried repeatedly to have cigars and cigarettes banned from the office in which she worked. Her superiors took a long, hard look at her and at her smoking colleagues, calculated which of them was most important to the department, and—fired her. She now wants the Texas legislature to require all state offices to take any measures, however costly and inefficient, that may be necessary to protect even the most easily replaceable employee from "a smoke-filled environment."

■ Within a few years, handy terrorists may be able to concoct, at home, in their spare time, nuclear bombs. Mason Willrich and Theodore Taylor, authors of *Nuclear Theft: Risk and Safeguards*, claim nuclear blackmail is a looming possibility as the nation's industries convert from fossil fuels to nuclear power. The way Willrich and Taylor envision it, radicals could heist a truckload of fissionable material and the rest is simple: other ingredients needed for a crude fission bomb can be bought from hardware stores. The Atomic Energy Commission says it's aware of the problem and has already tightened security requirements. The authors estimate that a homemade nuclear bomb could cause as many as 50,000 casualties. Buckwise, that would be quite a bang. If the Willrich-Taylor scenario ever does come about, the descendants of the SLA could blackmail entire states instead of a single family. What would they ask for? Iowa?

■ A word of comfort from the House Ways and Means Committee for last-minute and late income tax filers: "those citizens required to do so can well afford to devote a brief time during some one day in each year to the making out of a personal return . . . willingly and cheerfully." It was with these words that the Committee recommended to the House the original income tax legislation in 1913.

■ Minimum wage laws prevent the marginally employable, notably teenagers, from getting jobs, and put companies that must rely on low-cost labor out of business. In adopting a higher minimum wage, the House refused the Administration's request for a special "subminimum" wage for teenagers, but has authorized a pilot program to test the idea, with the stipulations that the program be limited to eight companies, that the subminimum wage be at least 80 per cent of the regular minimum wage, and that it neither displace nor depress the wages of those working for higher than subminimum wages. This program, which does not affect marginal firms or allow the creation of low-wage jobs in response to market demand, proves exactly nothing. The losers as usual are the teenagers who want jobs and can't get them because the government continues its long-standing stupid policy of destroying job opportunities with wage controls.

■ What ever happened to the campus radicals? The cheery view is that they grew up and disbanded, letting academia return to its normal contemplative self. Having cited some evidence of that ("The Week," Jan. 18), we are obligated to mention, respectfully, the dissenting opinion of Ronald Berman, the able director of the National Endowment for the Humanities. What really happened, suggests Mr. Berman in the *New York Times Magazine*, is that the more committed radicals have won. The issues of the Sixties deserved the attention of serious scholars, he writes: "All of them needed the exposure that objectivity, disinterest, and academic freedom could provide. *But it was precisely those habits and principles that were the casualties of the revolution of the Sixties; they did not survive as absolutes.*" The universities—not only the big ones of the coasts, but even the little ones inland—have become decidedly politicized. Many of those radical kids are still around. Teaching. Working within the system; working, that is to say, to destroy it.

■ Having tired of doing a thrifty 50, you're now wondering whether to go Amtrak and leave the driving to Uncle Sam. Be advised that Uncle Sam runs his railroad as sloppily as the rest of his business endeavors. In December over half (51 per cent) of Amtrak's 6,030 trains arrived late—and Amtrak doesn't consider a train late unless it arrives more than six minutes after the scheduled arrival time. The performance of the fabled New York-Washington Metroliner was particularly abysmal. Only 42.9 per cent of the Metroliners arrived "on time"; of the 868 trains that made the run, 496 were an average of 30 minutes late.

■ On March 29 Anthony Wedgwood Benn, Secretary of State for Industry in Prime Minister Wilson's cabinet, met with Aymar Achille-Fould, French Secretary of State for Transport, to discuss the fate of the Anglo-French supersonic nightmare, Concorde. The communiqué on their meeting was noncommittal, but apparently deliberate leaks report Benn stating that Britain will withdraw from the Concorde project within two months, whether or not France goes along. Meanwhile work on additional

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LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

Mr. Nixon's support, as measured by the Harris Poll, has risen five points, back to 31 per cent. This poll was taken before the avalanche of news about Mr. Nixon's tax bill. But it is not at all clear that the tax news will be an unmixed curse for Mr. Nixon. The sheer size of the tax bill may eclipse all the details about how Mr. Nixon came to owe so much, and may generate a kind of sympathy for Mr. Nixon among other taxpayers who are feeling the April pinch. One thing is certain: Congressman Wilbur Mills (D., Ark.) badly misjudged when he guessed that the information about Mr. Nixon's taxes would generate a nearly irresistible pressure for Mr. Nixon's resignation.

■ The most unreported issue confronting Congress is the abortion issue. There is a general misapprehension that the abortion issue was "settled," as regards public policy, by last year's Supreme Court decision liberalizing abortion laws. But that is far from the case, as the overworked congressional staffers can tell you as they try to keep up with the abortion-related mail. Such mail is flooding in almost as fast as Watergate- and impeachment-related mail, and much faster than mail on any other issue. For example, Senator Birch Bayh (D., Ind.) receives 60 to 80 letters a day on the subject. The focus of the letters is a proposed constitutional amendment that would overturn the Supreme Court ruling.

■ When it rains it rains rusty nails, and that is what is happening to Republicans all over. The latest bizarre mishap happened to Senator Marlow Cook of Kentucky, who wants to run for a second term this year. Cook has opposition—but not serious opposition—in the May primary. But the state attorney general has ruled that Cook's name can not appear on the ballot because Cook, in filing his candidacy papers, forgot to include the name of his campaign treasurer. Cook either will get the attorney general to reconsider this technicality, or will take it to court, or will run as a write-in candidate. Even as a write-in candidate he would be favored to win renomination and the right to run against his formidable Democratic challenger, incumbent Governor Wendell Ford.

■ How serious is the challenge Governor Dale Bumpers poses to Senator J. William Fulbright in the Arkansas Senate primary? Serious enough to force Fulbright to hire not one but *two* campaign consultants—Mark Shields, who worked on the Democratic victory in the special congressional election in Cincinnati, and John Martilla, who worked on the Democratic victory in the special Grand Rapids election. And serious enough to have Fulbright saying something that could be considered rude by Hanoi. Fulbright wants Hanoi to receive a delegation of senators who would investigate the problem of Americans still listed as "missing in action" in Indochina.

■ Riddle of the Week: What happened to the "emergency" energy legislation we could not live without? Answer: we lived without it, to the distress of its chief advocate, Senator Henry Jackson (D., Wash.), who now is about to launch a campaign against oil "brokers" who, Jackson darkly suggests, are guilty of making profits.

■ One of the stories making the rounds in Washington has been that Mrs. Ford would prevent Mr. Ford from running for President in 1976. Now the Washington society pages—where a lot of reliable and substantial news reports appear—indicate that Mrs. Ford no longer opposes a run by Mr. Ford.

■ As *NR* goes to press, Mr. Nixon is heading for Michigan to campaign for a Republican candidate in a special congressional election. He can lose nothing and he can gain something. If the Republican loses, it indicates that Mr. Nixon has lost his political clout, and that is not news. If the Republican wins, the White House will interpret the outcome as a swing of support back to Mr. Nixon.

—CATO

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test models of the Soviet TU-144 supersonic entry, modified to take into account the crash at the Paris air show last year, continues briskly.

■ Detente or no detente, the Kremlin has incorporated into its official *History of the Second World War* the charge that the Allies plotted in 1939 to have Hitler defeat the Soviet Union before the Allies defeated him. Western treachery is also the theme of Yulian Semenov's 14-hour-long spy thriller, *Seventeen Instants in Spring*, which was filmed shortly after President Nixon's 1972 visit to the USSR but not released until last August. According to Semenov, the U.S. and Britain tried to make a separate peace with Germany in 1945, thus freeing themselves to attack the USSR. It is galling to be accused of transgressions one hadn't the sense to commit.

■ ROME. Shoemaker Giuseppe Sias, 69, complained to the National Social Security Institute about his pension, but the law was plain that he was receiving all he was entitled to, ten cents a month.

■ LEIGHTON BUZZARD, ENGLAND. After 21 years with a lingerie firm, Mr. Keith Ascough has been given his own license plate by fellow directors, number BRA 1G. There'll always be a Leighton Buzzard, England.

■ COPENHAGEN. A Danish firm has announced that, in view of the Arab oil embargo, it would no longer export its products to Arab countries. The company makes electric vibrators.

■ The *Springfield* (Mass.) *Union* recently carried a photo from a paper mill, with the caption: "Paper is rolled up and made ready for shipment [to] Russia. American businessmen feel that closer economic ties with Russia help to relax international tensions." *NR* received a copy of this from Mr. William J. Sullivan, who notes that the U.S. has its own paper shortage and raises an interesting question about what will eventually be printed on that paper. "The least we could do," he adds, "is make them buy it under the name of Solzhenitsyn vellum."

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■ A Federal Banana Office? A banana czar? Or, alas, a top banana? Representatives of seven of Latin America's banana exporting republics recently met to discuss whether Arab oil tactics could also apply to bananas. As of this writing, banana lovers have nothing to worry about. The conference agreed that, in the words of one member, "people in the United States are not going to stand in line to buy bananas like they line up for gasoline."

■ Human nature, counted out by every reform movement that comes along, has come up against a couple of moralist biggies of late and handily won both rounds. Round One, human nature *v.* Protestant clergy. Investing church funds in "high risk" minority businesses and assorted "activist" movements has been very popular among committed clergy in recent years. The New York Conference of the United Methodist Church recently discovered that $3.7 million of its $7-million pension fund had been lost in these doubtful investments. Charity is one thing: ministerial pensions are another. The fund manager was fired "for cause" and the church is seeking to recover as much of the money as possible from insurance companies. Round Two, human nature *v.* the Soviet New Man. In lottery-crazy Russia, a group of grade-schoolers chipped in to buy 23 lottery tickets and won a $6,500 Zhiguli auto. One of the parents, who had been waiting three years for a Zhiguli, immediately offered to buy it; another said he should get to buy it. Only 27 of 34 pupils contributed to the ticket purchase, some more than others, and World War III was about to break out when parents and children shakily agreed to donate the proceeds to the school. Old "instincts and petty passions are sometimes revived," said *Pravda* in embarrassment.

■ Shirley MacLaine went to make a movie about marriage, adultery, and sex in Red China, only to discover that "nobody's really interested in sex in China [where'd all them Chinese come from?] . . . China is a happy place, but totally sexless. I didn't think about sex the whole time I was there, though I often thought about the fact that I wasn't thinking about it."

■ So much for the exciting foreign news. Back home, the big flap is over the number of tax dollars spent on Mr. Nixon's California and Florida residences—$17 million, the Democrats contend, or $205,000, the Republicans contend, or both, but not whether.

■ In the March issue of *Ms.*, one Lisa Cronin Wohl assails Phyllis Schlafly, principal public enemy of the Equal Rights Amendment, as the agent of a right wing conspiracy. She links Mrs. Schlafly to the John Birch Society, notes that ERA is also opposed by various "rightist," "racist," and antisemitic groups, and recalls that Mrs. Schlafly has praised Joe McCarthy (the notorious guilt-by-association fellow). Not that Ms. Wohl is *completely* lacking in fairmindedness: "Inevitably, in a matter as important as a constitutional amendment, there will be honest differences of opinion, and it would be grossly unfair to imply that everyone against ERA is an ultraconservative of the Schlafly stripe. For one thing, the Communist Party U.S.A. has also come out against ERA . . ."

■ This is almost too good to be true. We present Miss Janiece Crimmins, and hasten to nominate her as the Legislator of Our Times. Miss Crimmins, now in her second term in the Indiana General Assembly, is the only member of 150 in that body who did not introduce a bill this session. She did not introduce any legislation last session, either, or in the session before that. In fact she has never introduced a bill. "People kid me and say I'm not doing my job," she says. "But I see no reason to dream up some new law just to appear busy. Most new laws are either going to cost someone money or take away someone's liberties. We're overregulating, overprotecting, and overdirecting the people. I think people resent being told how and when and where to do everything. Passing 300 new laws a year is not what they want." Miss Crimmins says that if she ever does introduce a bill, it might be one to limit legislators to only one bill per session.

■ Equality is one of the most profitable topics on the lecture circuit these days. Herbert Gans has written a book on the subject, *More Equality*, which has been excerpted in *Society* and *Psychology Today*. Very modish. Gans argues that "even welfare recipients want to work, and . . . their work incentive is increased when they are given economic aid." "As for the affluent," Gans adds, "studies indicate that tax increases make people work harder and longer to bring their take-home pay back up to the previous level." That is, people work harder when they are given more money, and also when it is taken away from them.

■ To prove that "liberation works both ways," Mr. Fred Lamke, a student at Point Park College (Pittsburgh), ran for and won the title of Homecoming Queen. His measurements are 47-36-40.

■ Benign Divine Neglect Dept.: Howard Cosell in a recent interview: "I only wish to God I had been on the Watergate committee. I think the questioning would have been a little bit stronger and more pertinent. . . ."

A Middle Way

Everybody talks about the Constitution, but we often get the impression that not very many of us read it, and fewer still read it carefully. Certainly no one who has studied its text could state, as we have so often heard lately, that impeachment is the only method presented by the Constitution for bringing about the departure from office of an incumbent President. As we noted in our last issue ("Resignation and the Constitution"), the

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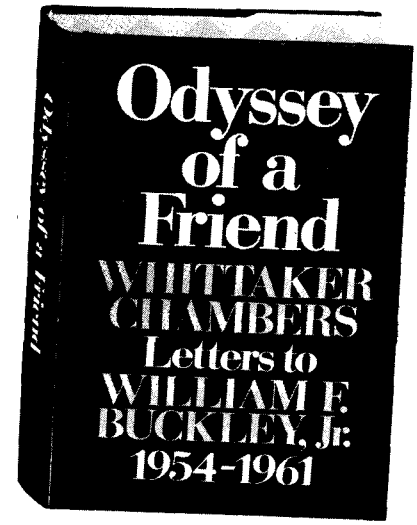

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Constitution explicitly recognizes and provides for the resignation of a President. In this as in most other matters, the Constitution is not altogether out of line with common sense; and the 25th Amendment was added in 1967 in order to outline more fully the orderly solution of problems that have arisen or might arise in connection with the office of President. Because of their significant relevance to the present situation of the Presidency and the current public debate thereon, we give here the complete text of Section 3 of the Amendment:

Whenever the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that he is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, and until he transmits to them a written declaration to the contrary, such powers and duties shall be discharged by the Vice President as Acting President.

This clause introduces and legitimizes an administrative flexibility within our governmental structure that would seem to furnish a prudent and workable solution to several sorts of difficulty or emergency that might arise from time to time, and in fact have several times arisen in our history without our finding a prudent solution. The most obvious is the case of a severe illness or injury of uncertain duration. In this issue, Mr. C. Dickerman Williams, the distinguished constitutional lawyer, argues—convincingly, in our judgment—that in the event the House impeaches, Richard Nixon should invoke the provision of Section 3 of the 25th Amendment.

Congress Wakes Up

The House has passed and the Senate is expected to pass legislation designed to give Congress a more active and responsible role in the design of the federal budget. Conceptually, the legislation has the support of both conservatives and liberals; differences between the House and Senate bills will have to be resolved in conference committee.

In recent years, the practice has been for Congress to create programs and vote appropriations for them while giving little thought to the relationship of these programs to the overall design of the budget and assuming little responsibility for raising the money via taxes to pay for them. This chaotic practice has shifted to the Executive the task of balancing income and outgo; it has been inherently inflationary; and it has led, virtually inevitably, to the controversial practice of presidential impoundment of funds impressionistically appropriated by Congress. The present legislation provides that both houses of Congress consider the total budget at one time, set targets and establish ceilings in well defined program areas, and match income with expenditure.

If the legislation goes into effect, and if it works as intended, it could return to Congress the power of the purse assigned to it by the Constitution.

Brazilians Do It

In Rio, when your rent goes up,
You don't wear rags or pass the cup;
Nor need a nice girl face defeat
By shaking it in park or street:
No, in Brazil they harmonize
Your salary to every rise,
But I can't quite believe it's true
That Milton Friedman's for it, too.

W. H. VON DREELE

Nixon's Week

Could have been worse. To judge by the early response, at least, the nearly half-million-dollar bill for back taxes presented to President Nixon by the IRS did not do him discernible political damage or add to the pressures for resignation or impeachment. For this several reasons can be adduced:

1. The revelations supposedly in store from the Nixon tax audit had been oversold and did not live up to expectations. Only two weeks ago, Representative Wilbur Mills had been publicly predicting that Nixon's tax problems would force his resignation; Mills now found himself complimenting Nixon on his prompt decision to pay up.

2. After enduring a barrage of fact and/or allegation for more than a year, the public has become relatively shock proof. Nixon's claiming of tax deductions later rejected by the IRS comes through as relatively tame stuff. On the major claimed deduction—for the gift of his vice presidential papers—the issues are complex, fraud was not alleged, and in any event Nixon is paying. Other details of the returns, whatever their merits, simply do not register as very interesting. Nixon was aggressive in the grey areas, and probably inflated his deductions, but this is the least that was expected and, anyway, his assailants in the media seem unduly gleeful and nit-picking.

3. More interestingly, the possibility exists that Nixon may actually be the beneficiary of taxpayer backlash against the IRS itself as we all make out our own returns. Conventional wisdom has held that the average American willingly pays his income tax, though he may gripe about it, and that most taxpayers would condemn Nixon for trying to hang on to his money. Things may have changed. We may have reached the point where large numbers of people do not perceive their tax burden as reasonable or fair, and, therefore, like Nixon, seek to keep as much of their money as possible out of the hands of the IRS. Nixon as deduction-inflator could turn into a kind of Middle American antihero.

As has been the pattern during the last year, however, no sooner was one issue digested than others appeared ominously on the horizon. Senator Lowell Weicker has come forward with IRS manipulation charges, the scope of which remains uncertain as we go to press. Herbert Kalmbach, President Nixon's former personal attorney,

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NR

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Punch Rothco

"We give them the know-how, they go home and quadruple oil prices."

is reported to have testified that he had been told by Bebe Rebozo that the original $100,000 cash contribution from Howard Hughes, supposedly kept in a Rebozo safe deposit box for three years and returned this year, had actually been "distributed" to the Nixon brothers and to his secretary Rose Mary Woods. Denials have been issued. But Kalmbach's testimony, if correctly reported, contradicts statements by the President and Rebozo, the latter made under oath. Local color: according to Kalmbach, at their meeting on the $100,000 in the White House basement, Rebozo referred to Nixon as "the big man."

Meanwhile, before juries, the score now stands Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski 1, former Nixon aides 0. Dwight Chapin, former presidential appointments secretary, has been convicted of perjury in connection with campaign dirty tricks and now awaits sentence.

Still, despite all, there was Nixon, not only still in office, not only attending services for President Pompidou in Paris and conferring with assorted heads of state, but fighting back and even rising a full five points in the latest Harris Poll.

Dump Controls

The Nixon Administration will end mandatory wage and price controls by April 30, except on the petroleum industry and possibly a few others (not to speak of all the long-standing controls administered by the FPC, ICC, etc.). But the Cost of Living Commission would continue, under the Administration proposals, as a watchdog agency to hold public hearings on price changes. While these proposals save face, by making it appear that controls may yet have some salutary effect, they are no substitute for total decontrol. For one thing, selective or partial decontrol fosters shortages and misallocation of resources, as capital and labor move from controlled to uncontrolled fields. And there will be strong pressures to add this or that industry or occupation to the controlled list.

If a watchdog agency were maintained, it would seem to lift responsibility for inflation from fiscal and monetary authorities, who could then pursue the easier course of deficit spending financed by money creation. Besides, jawboning is not as innocuous as it sounds. C. Jackson Grayson, who was head of the Price Commission during Phase II, notes that "jawboning will also include threats to pass legislation, to unleash a Justice or FTC investigation, to sell stockpiles to depress markets, to issue or leak derogatory stories to the press, and to issue or deny government contracts. At the personal level, jawboning can include subtle offers or denials of government appointments, or even threats to audit personal tax returns. All have been used." The mere existence of a watchdog agency, says Grayson, "would encourage price increases and discourage price decreases. An unfortunate lesson learned from the various phases is that you'd better get wage/price increases while you can."

The administration of price controls has cost taxpayers $200 million, and cost business as much as $2 billion. For this, we got a rate of inflation that was five percentage points above the level before controls. The rate of inflation in wholesale prices has tripled. An NAM survey of several hundred businesses found that 46 per cent of the larger firms had eliminated or reduced output of some goods as a result of controls, 33 per cent postponed or canceled planned capital outlays because of controls, and 97 per cent experienced unusual difficulty in obtaining important supplies—nearly all concerned attributing these shortages to controls.

In 1970, President Nixon said that "wage and price controls only postpone a day of reckoning." The day of reckoning is here, and it is past time to declare the program a total failure and to end it completely.

Time Out on Inflation

In August 1971, on the eve of wage-price controls, *Time* Magazine declared that "the most persuasive argument in favor of more government action against inflation is that it can hardly accomplish less than the Administration's inaction." Said inaction had then brought the rate of consumer price inflation down from over 6 per cent to 3.8 per cent, and subsequent "action," of the sort *Time* recommended, brought it back up to 8.8 per cent. Now *Time* has discovered that "governments, using the tools of Keynesian economics, react to anything but the briefest and shallowest downturn by increasing spending and pumping up the money supply."

Knowing the cause, *Time* nonetheless expressed an

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"uncomfortable feeling that no one quite knows what to do about inflation." Inflation rates in 11 nations are charted to show that "inflation is running amok everywhere." But even within this limited list, the differences are far from trivial: 7.4 per cent in West Germany, 23.1 per cent in Japan. *Time* tells us the Japanese "reined in the money supply" last year, but neglects to mention that it still rose by more than 20 per cent. Looking beyond Europe and Japan, the United Nations' index on consumer prices, with 1963 equal to 100, shows South Korean prices at 114 in 1971 and Indonesian prices at 71,797. Hardly a uniform, worldwide trend. It is difficult to blame oil-rich Indonesia's inflation on the sheiks, and South Korea is very much involved in world trade.

In 1960, economists Paul Samuelson and Robert Solow imported the so-called Phillips Curve. "In order to achieve the nonperfectionist's goal of high enough output to give us no more than 3 per cent unemployment," wrote Samuelson and Solow, "the price index might have to rise by as much as 4 to 5 per cent." The price index rose by 8 to 9 per cent last year, and we still didn't approach even a 4 per cent unemployment rate. Now, *Time* says, "a 12 to 13 per cent jobless rate for up to a year might be required to bring inflation down to an annual pace of about 2 per cent." It sounds awfully scientific, but it isn't. Besides, nobody is suggesting that inflation could or should subside that quickly.

Time then goes on to list six palliatives, none of which relates to those "Keynesian tools." Which are at the root of the problem.

Closing the Closed Door

At the preliminary session of the European Conference on Security and Cooperation, which met in Helsinki last autumn, it became quickly clear that point two of the suggested four-point agenda was to be a primary point at issue between the Western and the Communist participants: freedom of movement of persons, information, and ideas. The British delegate, then Foreign Secretary Sir Alec Douglas-Home, made this the subject of his principal speech at the session. With a force and eloquence unusual at diplomatic gatherings, he argued that nations can trust each other and move toward peaceful cooperation only when they are freely open to each others' citizens, ideas, and media of communication. The Soviet delegate did not want to wreck, before it had formally begun, a diplomatic enterprise Moscow had sought for the past decade, and therefore in his opening

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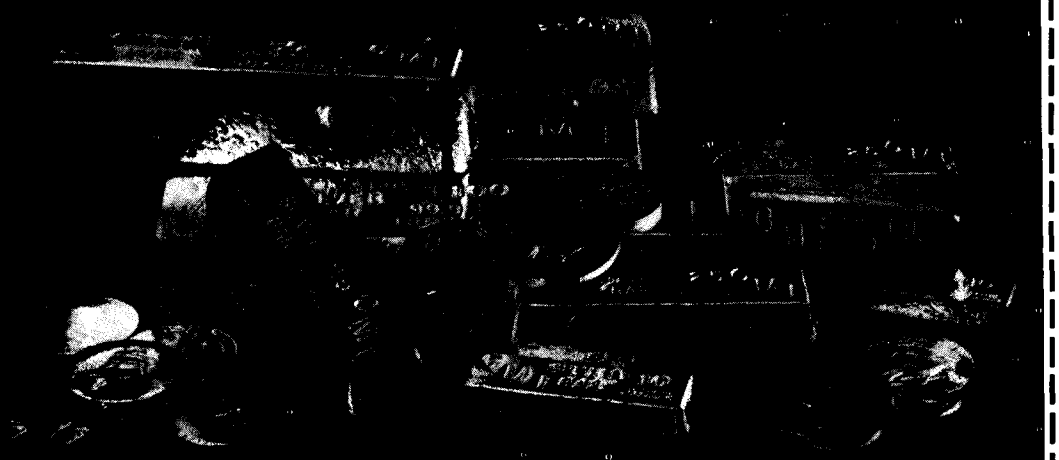

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round he replied in a partially blurred manner. However, he did not disguise his rejection of Sir Alec's interpretation. He suggested the dialectical rebuttal: Communists want freedom for their own countries to get access to the information and ideas available in the non-Communist world that they judge useful to their purposes, but the free movement of persons, ideas, and information across their borders will be strictly according to the laws, rules, and restrictions prevailing therein. The American delegate, operating under the self-imposed American conception of the rules of detente, confined himself to evasive generalities.

Over the past year everyone has had sufficient reminder of the Soviet idea of the free movement of persons. For those in the West who may have had any confusion about the meaning, for Communists, of the free movement of ideas and information, *Pravda* published early this month an article entitled "Socialism and Creative Freedom," whose prominence, length, and authoritative tone defined it as an official statement of the Kremlin's line.

"So-called freedom of exchange of information and ideas" is a "convenient cloak for subtle anti-Soviet propaganda." From this fact it follows that "there can be no talk of any 'ideological coexistence' or even 'ideological armistice.' "

Much of the article is an uncompromising attack on capitalism and bourgeois social relations as the destroyer of all forms of art and creativity. There can be no creative freedom "without freedom from bourgeois relations, from the exploiter ideology." Capitalism debases music, painting, sculpture, as well as literature and science. The bourgeois slogans about "freedom of self-expression" are base hypocrisies. Bourgeois ideology is fiercely opposed to all true realism in the arts, because true realism always moves artists and writers to expose and condemn the crimes of capitalism.

Western propaganda, the article continues, is paying exaggerated attention to a handful of Soviet dissenting scribblers not because they possess any literary talent but because of their "raving anti-Sovietism." This demonstrates that "the hypocritical farce conducted under the slogan 'intellectual freedom' is actually a fierce and furious attempt to block the development and dissemination of socialism and, at all costs, disrupt the process of relaxing international tension."

In a word: detente, Soviet style.

Felix Culpa?

Skepticism is strong as regards the tape on which Patricia Hearst announced her conversion to the cause of her SLA kidnappers. The certainty of her family and friends, the judgment of a voice expert, the circumstances of the recording and promulgation of the "announcement," the character of the SLA—all tend to reinforce it.

Apart from its dubious propaganda value and the sheer cruelty of those who must have relished her denunciation of her family, what was the practical purpose of releasing it? Many speculate that Miss Hearst is already dead and that the tape (the first that hasn't included some topical reference to establish its date) was made well in advance of her murder to give the killers time to flee. A West Coast correspondent, however, suggests another purpose: even if Miss Hearst is still alive, it may suit the SLA's cause to provoke a shootout with the FBI, after which Patty Hearst's body (perhaps still in the guerrilla uniform in which she was photographed) will be found. The FBI will be blamed for her death—an idea that SLA has also planted well in advance, identifying the "enemy" as the FBI.

College Financial Crisis

Many colleges and universities are saying, according to recently headlined news reports, that the sudden jump in the cost of heating oil has pushed them to the brink of financial disaster. The financial problems of these private institutions, however, have roots that go much deeper than the current fuel problem, and it would be a mistake to allow them to blame their economic predicament on the Arabs, the Israelis, the oil companies, Nixon, or anyone except themselves. Here are some long-term reasons for their economic vulnerability:

The proliferation of courses. Partly because of the built-in relativism of the elective system, partly because faculty had a sellers' market during the 1960s, the notion has become institutionalized that virtually anything can be offered as suitable for BA credit. The result is that both outright frivolities and what might be called serious frivolities have become the content of many college courses. You can, in the first category, take a course in movie criticism or in Swahili. In the second category, professors have insisted on offering as undergraduate

Lost Causes

I love lost causes; I've identified
With Hannibal and his immense *esprit.*
When that last Stuart sinks beneath the tide,
I rail at England and her perfidy.
Nor need I say, I weep again when Lee
Rides Traveller away for one last time.
The drama of the noble Cherokee
Occasionally touches the sublime.
Nobility's the key; the phony climb
Is usually easy to detect.
Thus, Eugénie has never rung my chime
Because she's always playing for effect.
And as for Nixon, though his cause is "lost,"
I've got this feeling I've been double-crossed.

W. H. von Dreele

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courses what may be a highly specialized interest: such as the Influence of Trieste on Joyce or Body Painting in Papua. Courses are also offered in what used to be considered a mere whim or private hobby: Victorian Murder Mysteries. It would be both economically and educationally sound if college departments were required to define a core curriculum, cut back on course proliferation, and reserve the highly specialized and the frivolous material for after-hours entertainment.

Savings can be made elsewhere. Since World War II, administration has enormously expanded, the administrator-to-student ratio is sharply up. Middle-level deans, particularly, have proliferated. Some of them function as lay psychiatrists, or, more plainly, as hand holders. All sorts of ethnic, women's, and other interests have their deans. Much of this is redundant and costly. In addition, scholarships could be replaced by long-term loans; programs not clearly related to academic goals—e.g., a semester in a slum—could be terminated without obvious loss. Urban colleges and universities could consider going out of the hotel (dormitory) business—a burdensome and costly operation.

If the jump in petroleum prices forces these institutions to reconsider their entire pattern of budgeting, it will have been a salutary thing—and, not least, educationally.

That Home Run

Henry Aaron's 715th home run, breaking Babe Ruth's record, was a remarkable athletic accomplishment, yet unless our antennae are mistaken it did not have the cultural resonance, the surrounding *meaning*, of Ruth's original feat. The same is true of Roger Maris' achievement in breaking the Babe's old record for the number of home runs hit in a single season.

When Ruth hit 51 home runs in 1920, attendance at Yankee games doubled. By 1927, when he hit 60, Ruth was a world figure and one of the sports immortals. These feats took place in a special context, one that probably never will be duplicated. Significantly enough, analogous figures were emerging in other sports: Jack Dempsey, heavyweight champion with his knockout punch; Big Bill Tilden with his irresistible serve; Red Grange with his touchdown runs; Bobby Jones, dominant in international golf. Their emergence coincided with a transformation in sports, which, in turn, coincided with and reflected a transformation in culture, not to say a transformation in America's relation to the rest of the world.

Each of these dominant figures symbolized a revolution in his particular metier. The old bunts-and-singles

THE DINES LETTER

has never been more bearish...

Find out why Dines is convinced this market is very vulnerable, but why golds and silvers look higher.

THE DINES LETTER calmly points to recently skyrocketing commodity prices as a sure sign retail prices are going much higher as soon as these prices work their way down to the consumer level. Inflation actually appears to be accelerating toward its final phases, and then deflation with government controls coming off. Food prices in the supermarkets are rising so rapidly, for anyone to see, that The Dines Letter does not see how those on relatively fixed incomes can possibly be eating as well as they did a year ago—unless they are cutting back expenditures elsewhere. "Elsewhere" is going to have to cut back production and lay off workers, to adjust to reduced demand, and the rising ranks of unemployed will in turn consume less. Thus does inflation spread its mischief in vicious cycles. Even with oil flowing again, higher gas prices only add fuel to the inflationary fires, so to speak. New construction has already been virtually halted by an interest rate structure forced to remain high because of the gold crisis. If interest rates get too low, dollars will flow overseas seeking higher rates, causing another gold flareup.

Repeated monetary crises in the last decade were warnings, in The Dines Letter's opinion, that Washington was not coping with the problem. Find out why The Dines Letter actually believes our monetary leaders do not fully understand gold. With a Wall Street reeling under the killing pincers of lower commissions and reduced volume, it is now finally beginning to get interested in gold. Several gold funds are now on the drawing boards, and when their buying arrives, gold and silver shares should respond smartly.

Low P/E Ratio Industrials do not impress The Dines Letter because, in their opinion, 1974 earnings will decline due to the above problems, more than most now believe.

The Dines Letter has never recommended more short sales than now, which is why they say they are so bearish, despite phony bear market rallies. Sooner or later Dines will at last recommend taking profits on golds and silvers and going back into industrials—be a Dines Letter reader all that time.

PLUS: A special feature on which gold and silver shares The Dines Letter feels are best to buy now. It is not too late. Let them show you actual charts and specific advice on AGNICO-EAGLE, AMGOLD, ANGLO AMER CORP., ASA, BENGUET, CAMPBELL RED LAKE, COEUR D'ALENE, DOME, EMPEROR, FRESNILLO, GIANT YELLOWKNIFE, HECLA, HOMESTAKE, INT'L MINING, NORTHGATE EXPLORATION, PATO, ROSARIO, SUNSHINE and UNITED KENO HILL. Find out what Dines thinks the recent currency turmoil could mean to you. Find out whether or not Dines believes the recent profit-taking decline in golds and silvers is already over.

AND: A special feature on 8 leading currencies, showing which would be most backed by gold, and which are safest to be in at various gold prices. In clear language Dines clarifies a very complex area he considers vital to investors, but for some reason largely ignored by the press.

IN ADDITION: A special chart of gold's relative strength back to 1948, what it looks like now, and what it means.

ALSO: A special, in-depth feature explainging ADR's, the advantages and disadvantages—dangers, of owning them in the U.S. FDR nationalized the nation's gold in 1934, making gold ownership a crime—could this happen to gold or silver shares?

LET THEM SHOW you actual charts, with Trendlines drawn in for you, and specific advice (buy or sell short) on these stocks: Amer Distilling; Amer Home Prod; Amer Hospital Supply; AMP; ARA Services; Avon Prod.; Black & Decker; Bucyrus-Erie; Burroughs Corp; Carnation Co; Chesebrough-Pond's; Coca-Cola; COMSTAT; Consolidated Foods; CPC Int'l; Disney (Walt); Dr Pepper; Dun & Bradstreet; du Pont (E.I.); Foster Wheeler; Gillette; Goodyear Tire; Halliburton; Harrah's; Hewlett-Packard; Int'l Flavors & Fragrances; IU Int'l Corp; Japan Fund; Johnson & Johnson; Johnson Products; Kollmorgen Corp; Lilly (Eli); Masco Corp; Matsushita; McDonald's Corp; McKee (Arthur G); Mercantile Stores; Merck & Co; Merrill, Lynch; METROMEDIA Inc; MGIC Investment; Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co; Mobil Oil; Mountain Fuel Supply; Nat'l Chemsearch; Nat'l Starch & Chemical; Owens-Illinois; Penney (JC); PepsiCo; Perkin-Elmer; Philip Morris; Procter & Gamble; Pullman; Retail Credit; Richardson-Merrell; Rite Aid; Rubbermaid; Santa Fe Int'l; Schering-Plough; Schlitz (Jos) Brewing; Sears, Roebuck; Simplicity Pattern; Sony Corp; Squibb Corp; Sterling Drug; Syntex; Texas Utilities; Triangle Pac Corp; UAL, Inc; Union Commerce; US Fidelity & Guaranty; Upjohn; Warner-Lambert Co; Westinghouse Electric; Xerox Corp.

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NOTICE: Prices rise at midnight 30 April 1974 to $10 for a trial; 6-months $70; and $115 for one year. So rush your order now.

The Dines Letter 18 East 41 St., N. Y., N. Y. 10017

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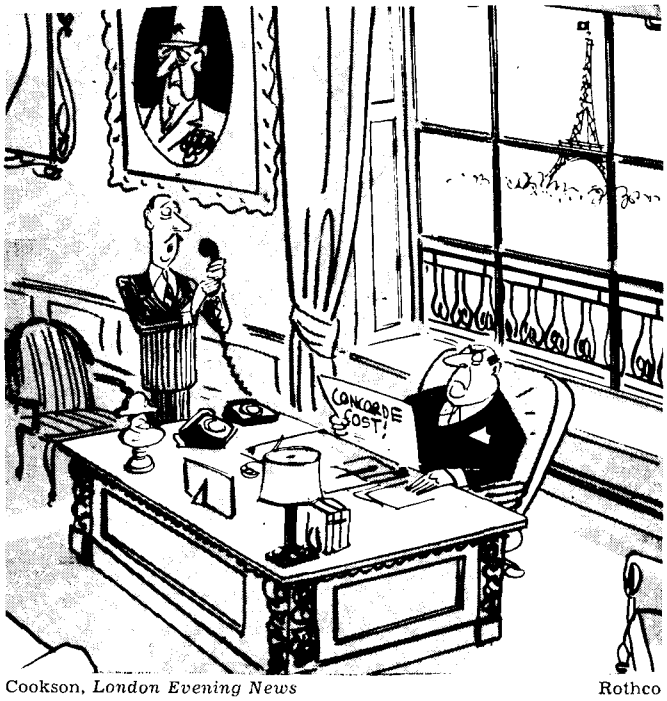
baseball of the prewar era, in which the commanding figure was the pitcher, gave way (via a new lively ball, key rules changes, closer fences, and Ruth) to the home-run era. Jack Dempsey was the antithesis of the old stand-up, barbershop-photo Victorian boxer. People like Jim Corbett and Jack Johnson looked archaic compared with Dempsey. Bill Tilden's Big Serve (originally introduced, significantly, by a Californian, Maurice McLaughlin), demolished the old Newport Casino/Germantown Cricket Club baseline duel. The day was over when the U.S. Davis Cup team was virtually synonymous with the Harvard varsity team. Until Red Grange exploded on the scene, football had been a low-score struggle in the dust and mud.

These men were heroic figures because they caught a particular moment, the moment when both socially and culturally nineteenth century *form* was giving way to twentieth century *dynamism*. Picasso and others were doing the same thing in painting; Pound and Joyce represented the revolution in literature, Stravinsky in music, Diaghilev in ballet. Moreover, from a purely national perspective, the awareness was dawning throughout the country that America, victorious in 1918, was now a major world power. Under these circumstances, the great sports figures created metaphors for possibility: 60 home runs, a 90-yard run, a grand slam. Anything was possible.

But there are no second acts in American life, to adapt Fitzgerald's phrase. No astronaut can be a Lindbergh, Foreman is not Dempsey, and neither Joe Namath nor O. J. Simpson has the symbolic power of Red Grange. The nation is older. That 715th home run was a great accomplishment, but it is a statistic; not a symbol.



Cookson, *London Evening News* Rothco

"It's Wedgwood Benn, suggesting we avoid further cost by joining all Concorde fuselages together to make a Channel tunnel."

Notes & Asides

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Reference extensive quote from our article, "A Tale of 12 Cadillacs," which concerned the chaotic "People in Need" free food program in San Francisco, California (*NR*, March 29, 1974, pp. 359-360).

Much as it is an honor to be quoted in so august a journal as NATIONAL REVIEW, might I make the following points?

In the future, you would do your readers a courtesy, and us a favor, if you would kindly refrain from your extraneous identification of the *Village Voice* as "left wing." In perusing that issue of *NR*, I noticed that neither *Pravda*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, the *New York Times*, *Newsweek*, nor *Family Circle* was tabbed politically, when presumably, a case could be made to fit each into its respective slot. Why the special treatment for the *Voice*?

Our article, as *NR* obviously noted, was simply an honest bit of reporting on a difficult situation, something which has been sadly lacking in coverage of the SLA/free food/Hearst matter by the major dailies and television networks. *NR*'s identification of our work did it a disservice.

In addition, the next time *NR* feels the need to reprint something from the *Voice* (it seems to have been done by fiat this time), you might try letting us know in advance. There is the matter of rights, of course. But more to the point: neither we nor the *Village Voice* are in the habit of serving as a free research bureau for magazine editorialists. Trips to San Francisco don't come cheap.

We'll send you a bill, Bill.

Warm regards,
Lucian K. Truscott IV
Mary Jo Warth
Village Voice

Dear Mr. Truscott:

1) The *Village Voice* is not widely known, so that to characterize its political leanings is relevant. I would not write, "James Reston, the journalist," but I would write "Lucian Truscott, the journalist." 2) It wasn't extraneous. Our point is that even left-leaning observers are contemptuous of the workings of the operation. 3) I think you will find that a quotation such as we ran, in the circumstances we ran it, does not require prior permission of the publisher (a point we researched many years ago). You may in turn quote as you like from *NR*, and you are free to characterize us as "right wing."

By the way, you did a nice job of reporting. My com-

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pliments to Miss Warth. And tell Mr. Wolf and Mr. Fancher I shall not bill them for the publicity given to them in, as you so correctly put it, our august journal. Yours faithfully, Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

■ Dear Miss Bronson:

I'm sorry that I was unable to reach you by telephone yesterday; however, this subject may best be covered in a letter.

Our agency handles the advertising for Western International Hotels, a division of UAL Corporation. Enclosed are ad proofs which are representations of the campaign we have been conducting for the past 14 months.

This campaign will be continued for at least the next 12 months and we are hopeful that Mr. Buckley will agree to be featured as a personality in one of the upcoming ads.

The information inside the *Time* cover explains the 1973-74 advertising program and the ads are samples of ones currently being run in *Time* and in inflight publications such as *Mainliner* and *American Way*. Other people to be featured in 1974 include William Lear, Robert Townsend, Grace Bumbry, Mary Wells Lawrence, Melvin Belli, Walter Landor, and John DeLorean.

Photographs may be taken in the hotel or in the office of the personality. Arrangements can probably be made to take Mr. Buckley's photograph somewhere in Europe before he returns, if that would be convenient for him.

I will call within a few days to determine if we may proceed with arrangements to include Mr. Buckley in one of the new ads.

Thank you for your assistance.

Cordially,
Jim Vanderwarker
Account Manager

Dear Mr. Vanderwarker:

I have your letter to Miss Bronson.

Why should I promote Western International Hotels? Are you under the impression that I am a professional student of hotels and that I have reached the conclusion that Western International Hotels are exemplary? Kindly explain what I ever said, anywhere, to anyone, that led you to believe that I am enthusiastic for Western International Hotels. Yours faithfully,

Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

Public v. Private Employees

When Grover Cleveland ran, the mix
Was only one to twenty-six.
When Nixon's future took a dive,
The rate was almost one-to-five.
Quite soon, the fateful abacus
Shows one of them to one of us,
And that's a slice of awful truth
I'm happy leaving to Our Youth.

W. H. VON DREELE

■ Dear Mr. Buckley,

I strongly protest your use of the term "the Jewish race" in your column of January 21.

It is incongruous that in the same column in which you (typically) use a word (usufructs) which sends the average college graduate to the dictionary, you also make the mistake of referring to a religion as a race—an error that the average grade school child would not make. It is an error which suggests prejudice and, at the very least, journalistic irresponsibility.

Yours truly,
Esther H. Cohn
Nashville, Tenn.

Come on, lady, go look at a dictionary before you blow your fuse next time. Webster's III, p. 1870, "RACE . . . 2 b: a class or kind of individuals with common characteristics, interests, appearance, or habits as if derived from a common ancestor (*the race of doctors*) (*the whole race of mankind*—Shak.) (*the Anglo-Saxon race*) (*the Jewish race*)."

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

It has been widely reported in various publications that you and your family own large oil holdings in the Middle East. Though I am an *NR* faithful, I have seen no references to this in its pages.

Don't you think that it would be wise for you to answer these allegations in the pages of *NR*? This would better inform your readers and help them, also, to evaluate more accurately your editorials on the oil crisis. Context, as you well know, is all important.

Sincerely yours,
Robert O. Weed, MD
Napa, California

Dear Dr. Weed: The Buckleys have no oil holdings in the Middle East. Cordially,

—WFB

■ Memo to: Bill
From: Priscilla

Jim O'Bryan's *NR* cover of Solzhenitsyn standing over the coffin of Stalin won an award from the Art Directors Club of New York.

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Never mind the vernacular, let us keep our Latin straight. One goes *in medias res*, but one is *mediis in rebus* (*NR*, Feb. 15, 1974, pp. 184 and 185).

Sincerely yours,
Johannes A. Gaestner
Easton, Pa.

—WFB

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Root Beer

FOR LUNCH Vice President Gerald Ford regularly eats cottage cheese drenched with catsup. He washes it down with diet root beer. As far as is known, the only other person in Christendom who consumes cottage cheese thus drenched is Richard Nixon, the man who elevated Mr. Ford to the august public office where what he eats for lunch is news. Mr. Nixon does not wash it down with diet root beer. But that is Mr. Ford: he is remarkably like Mr. Nixon—but with a difference.

Why, you may well wonder, does Mr. Ford eat such stuff. Is it mortification of the flesh? Not likely. Mr. Ford takes good care of his flesh—swimming whenever possible—as befits a former football lineman for the University of Michigan Wolverines. Is eating catsup-drenched cottage cheese an impeachable offense? No, but it is about as close as Mr. Ford will ever come to committing such an offense. In a town that is increasingly gifted at spotting—and imagining—corruption, there is not a breath of suspicion about Mr. Ford's rectitude.

Senator Barry Goldwater, who is not known for his droll understatement, once remarked that Mr. Nixon is "not one of the boys." Mr. Ford is one of the boys. He is a man *at ease* in Washington.

However one assesses Mr. Nixon's degree of involvement in or responsibility for any or all of the "White House horrors" (as John Mitchell baptized them), there can be no doubt that they occurred in large measure because of the atmosphere of isolation, suspicion, and distrust in the White House, and there can be no doubt that Mr. Nixon determined the atmosphere. After just two terms in the House of Representatives and two years in the Senate Mr. Nixon was selected as Dwight Eisenhower's running mate. He did not spend enough time in Congress to become a part of it, to adopt its habits of mind, to acquire its solid virtues. Instead, he spent a restless and often unhappy eight years being *used* by a President who did not think much of him, and hence did not use his real talents. Mr. Nixon's life has been focused on politics, and on Washington, but he has never been a part of the real and pleasant "community of feeling" among Washington politicians.

Mr. Ford is in some ways a perfect expression of that "community of feeling." Or, to put the point another way, his virtues are the virtues of the House of Representatives. The House is large, which is one reason why it is unglamorous. That, in turn, is one reason why it is underreported in all the media. But because it is large it has evolved a more subtle and complex power structure than exists 200 yards away in the Senate half of the Capitol Building. House leaders frequently can do something the Senate leaders almost never can do: they can *lead* substantial numbers of their party colleagues on matters of substantial policy. This cohesiveness, limited though it is, is real, and it is paid for in the real coin of politics: favors. The House members are not obsessed with Edmund Burke's speech to his electors at Bristol: they know they represent, first and foremost and usually, their districts. They get special attention for their districts by participating in a complex, endless process of logrolling. This process is largely healthy, and probably inevitable, and, frankly, it works as well as it does in part because it is not under severe media scrutiny.

Mr. Ford, after a quarter of a century in the House, is a man at home in Washington because he is at ease among its largest group of working politicians —the members of the House. If Mr. Ford is propelled into the Presidency the nation, and especially this town, will need the healing House virtues.

This, then, is the diet root beer in the equation—the difference in character is the salient difference between Mr. Ford and Mr. Nixon. But this should not distract attention from the fact that the two men are very much alike regarding things that matter very much. And Mr. Ford's amiability, and his appetite for the broker's life of compromise in the House, should not be mistaken for the attributes of a man without convictions.

I am not one of those who think Mr. Nixon lacks convictions about domestic affairs. I believe he is a convinced conservative, as measured by one general criterion: he possesses the antiregulatory impulse. It was only with great reluctance that Mr. Nixon accepted and used the power to impose wage and price controls. And if you want to see where it most clearly "made a difference" who won the 1968 and 1972 elections, look at Mr. Nixon's appointments to the Treasury Department and the Council of Economic Advisers. And in the darkest hour of his Administration Mr. Nixon had one of his finest hours: dealing with the energy problem (née crisis) he responded with conservative caution (e.g., no rationing) and conservative measures (e.g., a veto of the bill that would have rolled back oil prices). Mr. Ford is cut from the same cloth. The antiregulatory impulse, with all that it connotes about a tendency to trust the private sector and distrust federal power, is at least as strong in him as it is in Mr. Nixon.

REGARDING foreign policy, President Ford would not be recognizably different from President Nixon, for two reasons. The most fundamental fact of our current foreign policy is that Congress is not receptive to the kind of strategic weapons spending that would enable the U.S. to be convincing in arms negotiations with the Soviet Union. Mr. Ford as President would face the same Congress and would be in no mood to lead it down unpleasant paths.

More important, President Ford would have the same Secretary of State. Mr. Nixon chose Henry Kissinger. Even if President Ford were inclined to distrust Mr. Kissinger's precepts and tactics (and there is *no* reason to believe that he does distrust them) he would be stuck with them. Mr. Kissinger is the most admired man in government. Thus he would be a great asset to the new Administration of the man who became first Vice President and then President without winning a national election. □

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JAMES BURNHAM

Ideology and Policy

The Protracted Conflict

SEVERAL MONTHS ago, while Edward Heath was still Britain's Prime Minister, one of those good will cruises, traditional for members of the royal family, was planned for Prince Charles aboard the frigate *Jupiter*. On April 3 a short news item was printed on an inside page of the *Times* (London): "PRINCE'S AZORES VISIT CUT. The Foreign and Commonwealth Office confirmed yesterday that the frigate *Jupiter* which is due to visit the Azores on April 17 with the Prince of Wales on board will make only a short refueling stop. The Azores are Portuguese territory. Recently, plans for the frigate to visit Chile, Greece, and South Africa have been canceled."

A few days earlier the following colloquy had taken place at a session of the Commons:

"MR. LEE (Birmingham, Handsworth, Lab) asked whether the Minister for Overseas Development would stop the supply of overseas aid to Chile.

"MRS. JUDITH HART [the Minister]—Yes. There will be no new aid to Chile and I am stopping all present aid except that concerned with support of Chilean students and graduates coming to Britain. . . .

"MR. LEE—That answer will be of great satisfaction to this House, bearing in mind that the present Chilean so-called government indulges in murder of opponents on a scale unknown by any government since Stalin. (Labor cheers.)

"MRS. HART—That is also my understanding of the situation in Chile. . . .

"MR. KINNOCK (Bedwellty, Lab)—She has the endorsement in her current policy of a large proportion of the civilized antifascist world. (Labor cheers.) . . .

"MR. CALLAGHAN [the Foreign Minister]—Our policy toward the military junta will be governed by our desire to see democracy restored and human rights put into perspective there. . . . A projected naval training exercise has been canceled. . . . We shall not grant new export licenses for arms. The Home Secretary will consider applications from Chilean refugees sympathetically. (Labor cheers.)"

Let us add that during its first month in office the new Labor government announced a cutoff of all military supplies to South Africa, including naval craft under construction and helicopters due under existing contracts; canceled a good will visit to Greece by British warships; and shifted to a more intransigent policy toward Rhodesia that will probably mean a collapse of the rather promising negotiations that Conservative Foreign Secretary Douglas-Home had been conducting through the African leader, Bishop Muzorewa.

Let the Chips Fall

What is common to these instances is the undisguised ideological motivation of the foreign policy shifts. In the rhetoric of the Labor Party spokesmen who took part in the parliamentary discussion of policy toward Chile the ideological flavor is as unmistakable as the garlic in Mediterranean cooking. "Civilized antifascist world" carries, besides, an almost anesthetizing whiff of nostalgia, and "murder on a scale unknown since Stalin (Labor cheers.)" is beyond satire.

Ideologized rhetoric does not, of itself, signify that ideology is influencing or determining policy. Ideological rhetoric is sometimes no more than a familiar dialect used by politicians and expected by their audience, and sometimes a convenient disguise for political actions that spring from nonideological roots. In the British cases I am examining, however, we must conclude that the humanitarian-socialist rhetoric is more than adornment. These policy lines are counter to Britain's economic and security interests. With each of the target nations (Chile, South Africa, Rhodesia, Portugal, Greece) Britain has close economic, political, and (except for Chile) military ties stretching back for generations—centuries in the case of Portugal. The key naval base for the southern Atlantic and Indian oceans is Simonstown in South Africa, jointly operated by the South African and British navies. Portugal is Britain's oldest ally. Britain and Greece have been fighting alongside each other since the early nineteenth century. Britain has big investments in all these countries, with every sort of financial, trade, technological, and managerial interchange. Tens of thousands of Britishers or persons of British stock are residents or citizens. It is not that a nonideological policy would require praise for the governments of these countries, which seem somewhat worse than demanded by their difficult internal circumstances. But the kind of publicized rudeness and actual damage currently being heaped on them by the Wilson government must inevitably harm Britain's political, military, and economic interests which, one would think, are in bad enough shape without these added straws.

True, the policies I am analyzing are not necessarily irrational from the standpoint of the Labor Party leaders. Generally speaking, foreign policy is a derivative of the domestic situation. Harold Wilson may judge, and may judge correctly, that these ideologized foreign policy moves will please the sections of the electorate he wants to please and thereby strengthen his shaky political base. From the standpoint of the British nation, however, they are irrational.

Death of Ideology?

It has become fashionable to belittle the influence of ideology on policy and even to proclaim "the end of ideology." Possibly this anti-ideological tendency is itself an ideology: the ideology, specifically, that enables Westerners to feel comfortable about detente with the Communist powers. Their "communism," we are assured, is just obsolescent talk that we don't have to take seriously. Russia and China are guided by national tradition, interest, and security just like all other nations, so we can do business with them as we do with the others.

The demonstrable primacy of ideology—even so tacky an ideology as British Labor's—in these foreign policy operations of the Wilson government may suggest the wisdom of reviewing our dismissal of ideology in our estimates of Moscow and Peking. Maybe these Communists really mean what they have always said about class struggle and the world revolution. □

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AN ALTERNATIVE

Taking the Twenty-Fifth

C. DICKERMAN WILLIAMS

THE 25th Amendment to the Constitution, ratified in 1967 and the last Amendment so far adopted, may soon be applied in circumstances never mentioned and perhaps undreamed of at the time. By Section 3 the President may transmit to Congress "his written declaration that he is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, and until he transmits [to Congress] a written declaration to the contrary, such powers and duties shall be discharged by the Vice President as Acting President."

Senator Buckley's call for President Nixon's resignation has served to focus the attention of the discerning on the trauma that the country would suffer should President Nixon be impeached. I use the word "impeached" in its legal sense: that is, formal accusation of "high crimes and misdemeanors" by the House of Representatives, followed by a trial before the full Senate presided over by the Chief Justice of the United States, constituting the "High Court of Impeachment," as the Senate characterizes itself at impeachment trials.

Senator Buckley described the ensuing spectacle as follows:

> The ruler of the mightiest nation on earth would be starred as the prisoner in the dock. The [Senate] Chamber would become a twentieth century Roman Colosseum, as the performers are thrown to the electronic lions. [Senator Buckley believes that the pressures to televise the proceedings would be irresistible.] The most sordid dregs dug up by the Watergate miners would inflame the passions of the domestic audience and provoke the guffaws, prurient curiosity, or amazement of the outside world.

Quite apart from the staging of so unhappy an affair, as serious a consequence of impeachment would be the inability of both the President and the Senate to function normally for a considerable period of time. It is possible to get some idea of how long by comparison of the impeachment trial of President Andrew Johnson, the only precedent, with what the publicity to date suggests would be the impeachment trial of President Richard Nixon.

At the trial of President Johnson there was a single central issue—the constitutionality of the Tenure of Office Act of 1867. By that Act the President was forbidden to remove without the consent of the Senate any of a group of officers, one of whom was Secretary of War Stanton. President Johnson had unquestionably attempted to remove Stanton. There was a collateral issue as to his intention: was it to repudiate his constitutional duty to execute the laws, or was it, as he maintained, to provide a basis for a court ruling on the constitutionality of the Act? Not in dispute was whether, *if* the Act was constitutional, the President had committed a "high crime and misdemeanor." The Tenure of Office Act expressly declared any violation of its provisions to be a "high misdemeanor," punishable by imprisonment for five years and a $10,000 fine.

THE procedural formalities of President Johnson's trial did not occupy much time. The House voted a bill of impeachment, corresponding to an indictment, on March 4, 1868. The "articles" of the bill set forth the specific charges. The impeachment "managers," lawyers who were members of the House and appointed by it to prosecute the impeachment, promptly presented the bill to the Senate. President Johnson was granted nine days to serve an answer; his counsel had asked for 40. The answer being received, the Senate decided to commence the trial seven days later, on March 30, 1868; the President's counsel had asked for 30 days.

The Senate made these procedural determinations by a simple majority vote. A two-thirds majority is required for a conviction, but not for procedural rulings. At an impeachment trial of the President, the Chief Justice of the United States presides, but every senator is a member of the "High Court," that is, a judge. Unlike an ordinary trial at which a single judge controls the proceedings, the Chief Justice is merely a chairman; any senator may at any time challenge a ruling.

President Johnson was never present at his trial, but in other respects it was conducted much as a criminal trial would be today. Witnesses were called, examined, and cross-examined. Documents were formally identified and received in evidence. The rules of evidence were strictly observed. The evidence was largely documentary and there were no conflicts in the testimony. The disputes over the admission of evidence related chiefly to testimony of President Johnson's intention. His counsel sought to show that his purpose was not to nullify the Tenure of Office Act, but to lay a foundation for a judicial determination of its constitutionality. Chief Justice Chase repeatedly ruled such testimony admissible, but the full Senate, voting by a simple majority, usually overruled the Chief Justice. The decisions were made after conferences among the senators meeting in a separate room, and often after long discussions.

The evidence received related largely to two matters: the details of the attempt to remove Secretary Stanton, and precedents in the removal of officers by former Presidents. The House managers and the President's counsel displayed the usual thoroughness of lawyers in an important case; any precedent conceived to have any relevance, however remote, was introduced. Senators did not regard it as necessary to be present at all times; they wandered in and out of the Senate Chamber, avoiding the boring introduction into evidence and consequent reading of the many documents presented by the lawyers. The trial itself lasted some seven weeks; the final vote was not taken until May 26, almost three months after the presentation of the bill of impeachment to the Senate.

The trial of President Nixon would not be so simple—again assuming that the bill of impeachment would include many, if not all, of the complaints of misconduct indicated by the press.

For one thing, the facts would, apparently, be vigorously disputed. It may be assumed that insofar as the Water-

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gate coverup is concerned, the bill of impeachment would rest largely on the testimony of John W. Dean III. We must further assume that no senator would believe himself entitled to vote unless he had at least heard Dean testify and also heard the President at least insofar as he contradicted Dean. Unlike President Johnson, President Nixon would presumably attend his trial so as to testify on disputed issues of fact. A senator's vote would simply not be credible if he took the word of a confessed suborner of perjury, as Dean is, against that of the President of the United States, without having listened to both of them. In 1868 there were only 54 senators. Now there are 100. Each would be entitled to be heard in any discussion of admissibility of evidence after an objection by the lawyers for either side.

One anti-Nixon commentator regards the Watergate coverup as too complex and confused to warrant impeachment; he proposes that the President be impeached for the bombardment of North Vietnamese Army units stationed in Cambodia. The trial of such an issue would resemble that of President Johnson: the evidence would consist largely of the details of the bombardment and of more or less relevant precedents, and there are now 185 years of them.

A troublesome issue would be whether or not the alleged misconduct constituted a "high crime and misdemeanor," an issue not really involved, as we have noted, at the trial of President Johnson. Mr. Raoul Berger, a Senior Fellow in American Legal History at the Harvard Law School, concluded in his recently published treatise on impeachment that a President could be removed only for "great offenses." Many of the senators voting for the acquittal of President Johnson stated this view.

Of the 861 pages of small print constituting the officially published proceedings of the trial of President Johnson, approximately half consist of the arguments of lawyers. Only a court lawyer realizes the snail-like pace of American legal proceedings, and the pace, slow to begin with, is constantly becoming slower. The trials of the assassins of Presidents Garfield and McKinley required only a few days; the trial of the assassin of Senator Robert Kennedy required many weeks.

As already said, the length of an impeachment trial of President Nixon cannot be estimated with any confidence, but unless the charges are far fewer and more specific than indicated by the press, at least a year would in my opinion be necessary. (At the trial of Andrew Johnson several senators referred to the fact that in 1787, when the Constitution was being framed, the impeachment proceedings against Warren Hastings had just begun in England. The impeachment trial of Hastings took seven years.)

Space does not permit a description of the manifold responsibilities of the President of the United States today—head of the armed forces, primary executor of foreign affairs, chief law enforcement officer, appointer of innumerable officers and also of judges, inspirer and in substance supervisor of legislation, chief of his political party.

But whatever the length of the trial, it will require so much of the attention of President Nixon that he will be unable simultaneously to discharge his duties as President of the United States. The issues will not be merely issues of law to be applied to unquestioned facts; the issues will be of fact, or, at least, of the interpretation of fact. The trial of President Johnson turned on a principle of constitutional law; the trial of President Nixon will turn, according to present indications, on his personal conduct, or misconduct.

In this situation application of the 25th Amendment is in order, despite the fact that at the time disability by reason of illness was contemplated, not disability by reason of impeachment.

Undoubtedly problems will arise, problems not dealt with by either the Amendment or any legislation yet enacted. Who is to enjoy the emoluments of the office of President? Who occupies the White House? How much, if any, of his personal staff does the President retain? The resolution of these and related problems is not too difficult. As the President will be giving most, if not all, of his attention to his trial, he would seem not to need a large staff. He could occupy Blair House, a dignified mansion across the street from the White House, used by President Truman for months during major repairs to the White House. It would seem only fair that Congress provide funds for his legal defense.

Although President Nixon would undoubtedly feel somewhat humiliated by this procedure, on reflection he should be able to see its advantages. The most important thing for him would be to win an acquittal. The more time he gave to his defense, the better his chance to get it.

And an impeachment proceeding will have advantages for him. At present much of the general public is under the impression created by the partisan and tendentious media that he has done terrible things, although not knowing exactly what. The framing and proving of specific charges is not going to be too easy. One is reminded of the similar predicament of Senator Joseph McCarthy. Despite the similar impression, similarly created, when it came down to specifics, a majority of the senators came to realize that they could not, without stultifying themselves, find Senator McCarthy guilty of any offense other than rudeness to fellow members of the Senate. For that, and for nothing else, he was censured.

Those who would suffer most in the event of an impeachment trial would be the members of the Senate. It has been suggested that they should do their regular work in the morning and sit as a court of impeachment in the afternoon. Unless, however, the charges are few in number and turn on issues of law rather than the credibility of witnesses, the trial would be unbearably protracted and burdensome under such a procedure. Neither the 25th nor any other Amendment authorizes senators to delegate their duties to others. Obviously the Senate would have to take some time out for routine activity—appropriation bills, consent to the appointment of judges and other officers, etc.—but in general, as things look now, it would be necessary to suspend legislative activity.

One possible difficulty may be dismissed; the Senate, the Supreme Court has held, is a continuous body. Hence if the trial were not completed before the 1974 elections the Senate, despite the fact that there will inevitably be some changes in its membership, could lawfully resume the trial next year.

An impeachment trial would undoubtedly present the unfortunate spectacle envisaged by Senator Buckley and would impose a heavy burden on the Senate, but the President should be able, under the 25th Amendment, to give it proper attention. □

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The author takes on some shibboleths which have been repeated so often they have begun to be treated as self-evident. In their place, he offers ten heresies to enliven the energy debate

Ten Answers that Are Obvious, and False

ALAN REYNOLDS

A FAIRLY RELIABLE test of the truth of any statement about economic issues is the degree to which it contradicts everything you read or hear. To illustrate, let's explore ten true statements that are widely regarded as obviously false.

1. *The gas shortage was deliberate public policy.* Even by the original White House estimates, which have proven much too pessimistic, we faced no more than a trivial 7 per cent shortage of gasoline before the Energy Office ordered the refineries to cut back on gasoline production. The theory was that distillates (mainly home heating oil and diesel fuel) were more "essential." But the original figures of the distillate shortage weren't even close (900,000 barrels a day versus a year-end revision to 340,000 barrels a day), and there is a very narrow range within which refineries are technically able to switch from gasoline to heating oil. By the end of 1973, figures from the American Petroleum Institute showed distillate fuel stocks 30 per cent above the levels of a year before, and gasoline stocks below the "crisis point." Monthly allocation guaranteed that all stations would run dry at the same time. Basing allocations on 1972 use created surplus supplies in ski resorts and scarcity close to home.

2. *Jobs should be "lost."* Industries that use a lot of petroleum or electrical energy—plastics, aluminum, synthetic textiles—will, sooner or later, have to give way to substitutes. In a free market, such industries would have to boost prices to reflect their difficulty in bidding scarce energy sources away from competing uses. The resulting reduction in demand would force labor and capital to move to substitute products, such as paper, steel, cotton, and things we've never dreamed of. Commandeering energy from market-determined uses to energy-intensive uses is a typically shortsighted accommodation to industry pressure. If people would rather consume energy directly (as gasoline or home heating) than indirectly (as synthetic textiles or aluminum cans), then direct uses should get proportionately more energy. The universal acceptance among congressmen of the idea that "industry" must have top priority shows once again who gets heard when economics and politics are mixed. Actually, Ford Foundation research proves what should be obvious—that industries that use a lot of energy use very little labor, so not many jobs need be affected.

3. *The numbers are phony.* There are two sides to a shortage—supply and demand. The estimated demand for petroleum products is based on "trend growth," but the trend will obviously be fairly different in the recession of 1974 than in the boom of 1972-1973. Similarly, long-range "doomsday" forecasts invariably ignore the effect of prices on supply and demand and are therefore totally worthless.

4. *Nobody wastes energy.* People leave their lights on, drive big cars, and don't insulate their houses because the alternatives involve costs (in time, comfort, or money) that exceed current prices. When something is desirable and cheap, people will use a lot of it. That is rational behavior—not "waste."

5. *We should not conserve resources.* Future generations may well prefer to inherit the products and productive capacity that are derived from energy resources than to inherit fossil fuels that will probably be relatively obsolete. If oil were expected to be more valuable for the future than are the goods that can be made with oil now (in technical jargon: if the discounted present value of sales in the future exceeded the value of sales today), then profit seekers would conserve oil fields. Actually, the price of oil in the ground is not likely to rise much above today's "real" price (adjusted for general inflation), because too many substitutes have become viable at these prices: oil shale, secondary recovery, tar sands, coal gasification, offshore drilling, etc. And if the oil is sold now, future generations can collect compound interest on the proceeds.

6. *Taxpayers should not subsidize*

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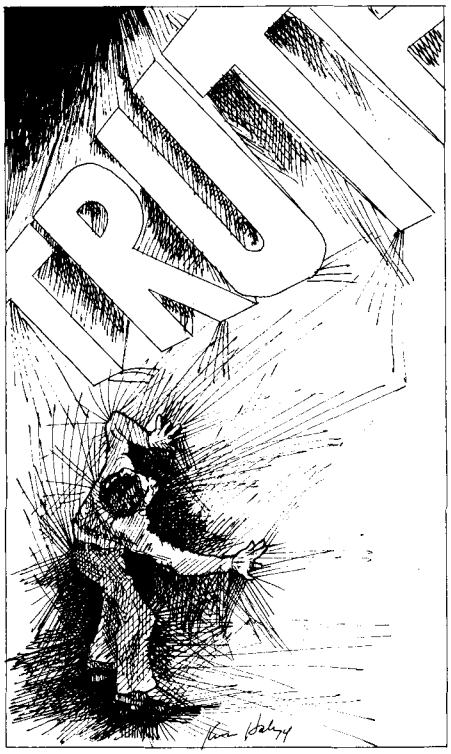


energy research. If prices and profits are allowed to reflect the imbalance between energy demand and supply, there will be ample incentive for private research. If the profit opportunities are suppressed, government-funded research projects won't ever be put to use. David Rose, in the *Scientific American* (Jan. 1974), shows that federal energy research has leaned far too heavily toward one type of nuclear energy, to the exclusion of many other promising alternatives. Profit-motivated research could never afford to be so wasteful.

7. *Monopoly is irrelevant*. Economic theory tells us that a shared monopoly will produce somewhat less than a competitive industry, and at a somewhat higher price. At some point, the reduction in sales will more than offset the revenue from a higher price. Having found the wealth-maximizing combination of supply and price, the trend over time is the same in competitive or monopolized industry—both produce more as demand and price rise. To say that oil companies cut supplies to raise prices therefore implies that the monopoly is brand new. If they had the power before, they would have used it before. But there has been no dramatic change in the structure or conduct of the industry to explain such a sudden and dramatic acquisition of monopoly power. And the related notion, that the oil companies are using high prices to "squeeze out" competitors, makes no sense at all.

8. *Tax advantages are no advantage*. Any advantage that the depletion allowance gave to oil investors has long since attracted enough capital to drive after-tax profits down to the going rate. Lowering the depletion allowance in 1969 imposed a rather unfair "windfall loss" on oil stockholders who had bought stock at a price that took account of the previous tax advantage. After-tax profits of oil refineries, expressed as a percentage of stockholder equity, fell every year, from 12.3 per cent in 1968 to 8.7 per cent in 1972. In 1973, oil profits rose to a level roughly comparable to that of other manufacturing corporations. But profits will have to be *higher* than average—will have to be "excessive"—in order to attract capital from competing uses. As for proposals to increase greatly taxation of earnings on foreign sales, this would place U.S.-based companies at a literally unbearable disadvantage in competition with companies like Royal Dutch Shell and British Petroleum.

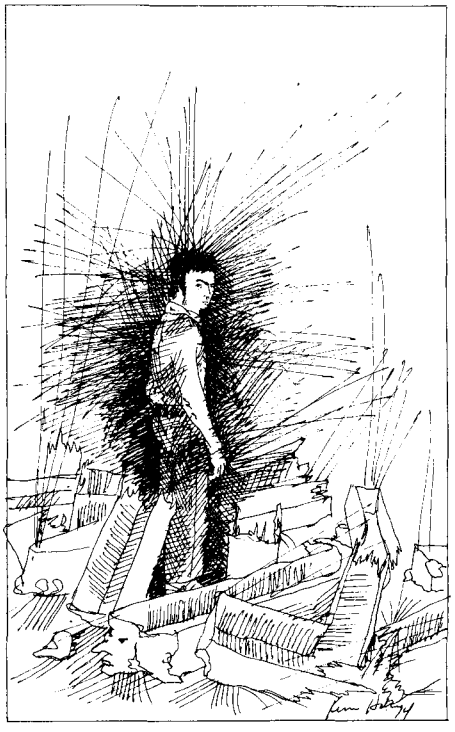
9. *We should not have a national energy policy*. There is no way of knowing what will be "needed" by whom, or how it should be produced. People who put their own money on the line are alone equipped to make these decisions. For government to attempt to dictate needs and availabilities is to introduce still more rigidities (and opportunities for graft) into an otherwise adaptable system. As gasoline became especially scarce in New York City this past winter, for example, price would normally have risen relatively more in that area—attracting supplies from places that had plenty, and encouraging motorists to fill up outside the center of town. But government allocation and price controls prevented this adjustment.

10. *To make more, we have to use less*. Land, labor, and machinery can be devoted either to producing for current consumption (gasoline, newspapers, food) or to expanding capacity for future production (factories, tools, fertilizer). Yet Congress has concentrated on stimulating consumption while penalizing saving and investment. Interest earnings are limited and taxed, while interest on consumer loans is subsidized through tax deduction. If the value of an asset merely rises enough to keep up with the falling purchasing power of the dollar, the rise is called a "capital gain" and taxed. Corporate profits, which are falsified by inflation, are taxed at the firm and again when paid out as stockholder income. As a result of all this, the nation is starved for productive capacity—in petroleum refining, paper, metals, and many other industries. Capitalism can't survive without capital.

Look beyond the Slogans

By attempting to blame public policy errors on consumers and producers, politicians and their media apologists are diverted from real solutions and almost compelled to suggest even more extensive government regulation. Industry certainly has nothing to fear from regulation—no regulated industry has ever asked to return to the insecurity of having to please its customers. Look at the airlines using the CAB to squelch charter flights, or the railroads' long history of subsidies, or AT&T asking the FCC to eliminate "interconnect" rivals, or the stock brokers getting bailed out by an SEC-enforced hike in their rates, or the post office griping about "cream skimming" of its monopoly on first class mail, or the bankers lobbying to keep a legal lid on the interest they pay to small savers.

It isn't the oil industry that should worry about expanded government regulation: the managers will still get hefty salaries, and the stockholders will have their risks underwritten by the taxpayers. But consumers and taxpayers would be well advised to look beyond the slogans. □



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MINORITY HIRING

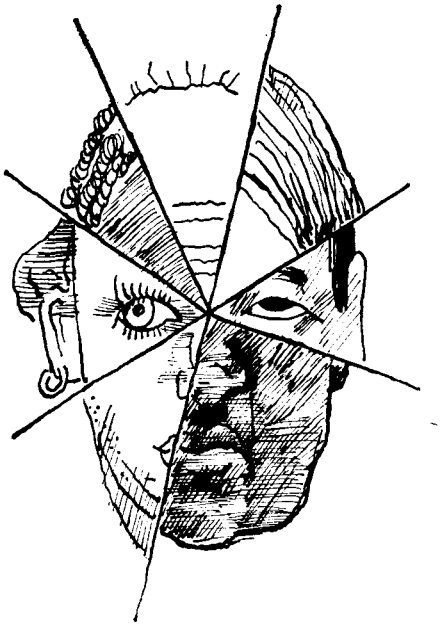
How far has it all gone? The Equal Employment bureaucrats concede that a bank need not hire a convicted burglar, but they may require the bank to hire a convicted murderer because his crime wasn't 'job-related'

Are Quotas Here to Stay?

ALLAN C. ORNSTEIN

COMPETITION FOR jobs on the basis of ability is being eliminated, and racial quotas increasingly becoming the norm throughout the employment sector. This sweeping change is being brought about by Executive Orders No. 4 and 11246. The orders were signed by President Johnson to eliminate discrimination in hiring, but were revised by the Department of Labor, and now force institutions to give preferential treatment to minorities in hiring and promotion practices and require that goals and timetables be filed annually by each affected employer. The orders cover public schools, universities, civil services (policemen, firemen, postal workers, etc.), the armed forces, construction and trade industries, unions, private corporations and businesses employing more than 25 people, and *all* organizations that have contracts with government or are regulated by governmental agencies—in all, about 95 per cent of the employment market.

According to the 1970 report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, the Federal Government is the largest employer in the country, and another third of the nation's labor force is employed by companies that are government contractors. These two powers alone—the power to employ directly, and the power to force federal contractors to abide by the rules of the government—affect more than 75 per cent of the job force. Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 covers almost all other employers; it asserts that no person may be discriminated against on the grounds of race, color, or national origin. The meaning of nondiscrimination, however, has been transformed into affirmative action compliance and reverse discrimination.



According to the federal guidelines, the goal of equal opportunity is no longer equal opportunity for *individual* members of all groups, but numerically proportionate representation of *groups as such* at every level of employment. In other words, the goal of *equal opportunity* has given way to that of *actual employment* of minorities. Which means, in current practice, blacks, persons with Spanish surnames, Indians, Orientals, and women—but not Greeks, Poles, Italians, or Irish, not Catholics or Jews. Thus only racial minorities and women are eligible for preferential treatment, supposedly because they have suffered from discrimination and disadvantage because of heredity and sex.

Needless to say, these two groups are not the only ones who have been discriminated against in some way; other groups, and certainly individuals in other groups, have suffered disadvantages in school and society. But no one asks how we know that a given black person did not come from a more advantaged home than a given white person seeking the same position. Though 70 per cent of the poor are white, the presumption is now to be made in favor of the black—even though the white may, as in the case of one frustrated Harvard applicant, come from a home barely above the poverty level, in which the father is a Southern Baptist with a third-grade education.

No Objective Criteria

Federal guidelines, moreover, seem designed to scare employers away from any objective standards or testing requirements which have a differential impact on minority groups. And a recent Supreme Court ruling (*Griggs* v. *Duke Power*, 1971) holds that all arbitrary barriers to employment—required skills, educational levels, test score results—are illegal if they tend to employ minorities in less than their proportion of the population, unless the employer can demonstrate conclusively that the skills are in fact needed for the job, or that the tests are reliable and a valid predictor of job success. It is irrelevant that the employer has no discriminatory intention; only the effect matters now.

The assumption behind these guidelines and rulings is that the tests are culturally biased and therefore unfair, and that this is proved by the simple failure of minorities to equal the scores

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of other groups. Some critics would even abolish testing and choose plumbers, lawyers, teachers, and physicians by means of lotteries. Here it is important to note that females are always considered as minorities in affirmative action policies, though they have always been able to compete with males on standardized tests. The *Griggs* decision is aimed not at helping white women but at helping racial minorities (except Orientals, who are high achievers) who seem unable to compete on cognitive tests. Federal agencies involved in affirmative action programs are rigorously enforcing this decision; and this of course puts the employer on the defensive, so that the easiest course is just to hire enough minority group members to fill a quota.

Political Motives

According to Doppelt and Bennett of the Psychological Corporation, the cry that testing for job applicants is biased is a smoke screen for political motives. There are many reliable tests for predicting job success, and general verbal and mathematical skills are reasonable measures of capability for a great variety of jobs. Tests may be culturally oriented, but jobs are imbedded in a cultural milieu. The ability to understand oral and perhaps written instructions is not a racially biased criterion; it is "culturally laden" but also, and for that reason, relevant to a given job. The purpose of testing is after all to select people who will succeed at their jobs; to outlaw testing is to make the selection process more subjective and political than it would have been otherwise. The politics of the charge that tests are unfair is evidenced in the critics' general lack of concern for the large subgroup of the white majority who, being educationally disadvantaged, make low test scores—and therefore suffer doubly, disqualified by both inability *and* race. Justice would seem to require that affirmative action make provision for these people too, if disadvantage is injustice. But again, such moral considerations in practice give way to political ones, and reverse discrimination seems a sort of payoff to militant segments of organized minorities who threaten violence if thwarted. Indeed, the silent majority must now pay the consequences of being silent. Past injustices to groups are now to be atoned for by myriad injustices to individuals.

Even a person's arrest record is no longer allowed as a sufficient reason for refusing to employ him, unless he is white—because more blacks are arrested than whites, and the result of using such records as criteria would be, in the long run, disadvantageous to black job applicants. Although the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission concedes that a convicted bank robber may be rejected for a job in a bank, they argue that a convicted rapist or murderer may be hired since the act is not job-related.

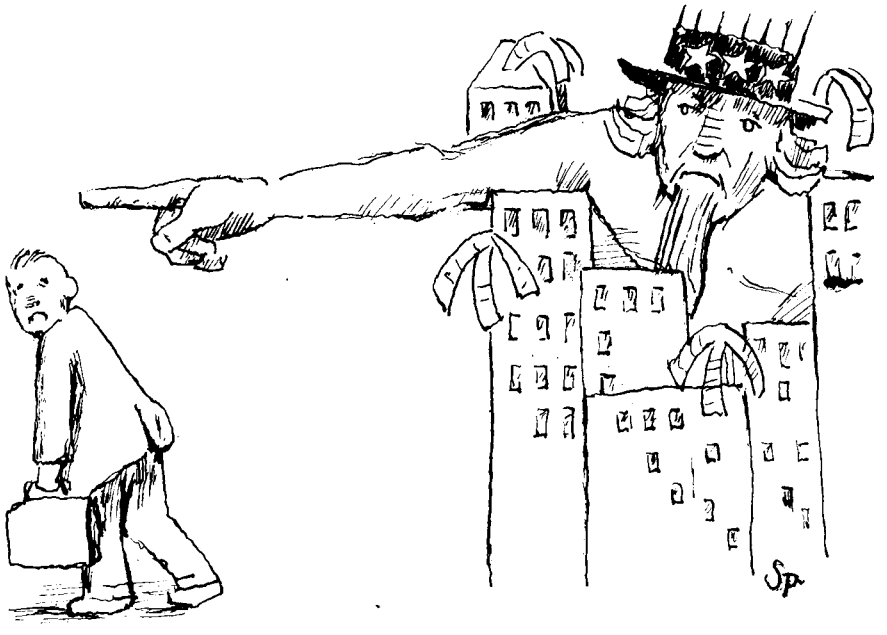
Government officials continue to insist that "you never have to hire an unqualified person," and of course they avoid using terms like "reverse discrimination" and "quotas." But, given the many legal and economic weapons available to the government, the effect of affirmative action policies has been precisely to encourage employers and universities to practice discrimination against individuals who do not belong to those groups favored by affirmative action programs. Major companies like IBM and Xerox have told their executives that their futures depend on results in meeting affirmative action goals. Universities and their departments frankly announce race and sex as qualifications for new students and faculty members. The chancellor of the City Colleges of Chicago (which comprise seven units) recently directed the presidents of the colleges to consider race the prime factor in hiring new faculty members; adding, in the words of *Chicago Today*, that "when 52 systemwide contracts expire in July for teachers, many qualified whites will not be rehired and blacks will be sought to fill their jobs." Civil rights groups increasingly use the term "quotas" in framing their demands.

Bureaucratic Zeal

Another consequence of affirmative action programs is the lowering of standards, academic, professional, and commercial, as businesses and institutions of learning are bullied into hysterical compliance, sometimes beyond what is needed, by the threat of court suits and loss of federal contracts and funds. This in turn produces cynicism, making "black" a synonym for "incompetent" in many people's minds, and discrediting even qualified blacks.

Concepts of what goals and timetables are reasonable, moreover, vary according to the zeal of the bureaucrat in a given case. Field bureaucrats may modify such goals and timetables at any time, giving the institution under investigation 30-day notice for rectification, even though no charges of discrimination have been filed. It is assumed that the institution is guilty unless it can demonstrate its innocence, and that if it does not employ minorities in proportion to their number in the population at large, there has been culpable discrimination. The folly of these assumptions appears when one considers that there were only 1,500 black PhDs in the country in 1972; how then are universities to employ their share of blacks?

(Continues on page 495)



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BOURGEOIS DIGEST

Fear Fans Out

S. L. VARNADO

I HAVE AN insatiable appetite for magazine articles that deal with our worries, mental disorders, tensions, and fears, especially when such articles are of the "Interview-with-an-Expert" type. I read all of these I can get my hands on, and evidently most Americans are just like me. In reading these of late, I have noticed that quite a few are now slanted toward the fears and tensions aroused by our current national emergencies. This tendency is natural, I guess. Since the country appears to be going rapidly to hell, people want to make the journey as comfortable as possible.

As a consequence, the campuses and mental clinics of the nation seem to have been ransacked in search of college professors, psychiatrists, and other assorted experts who can advise the public on such subjects as "Handling Your Watergate Neurosis," or "Getting a Grip on Your Psyche during the Energy Crisis." Even the specialty magazines have finally sensed the relevancy of this sort of psychological orientation. *Bush and Brake* ran a piece recently entitled "Self-Analysis and Backpacking in the Canadian Rockies," while *Machine and Motor Monthly* followed promptly with "Be Your Own Body Repair Man While Undergoing Shock Therapy."

Through the years, of course, the fountainhead of the psychological article has been *Bourgeois Digest*, and among the many recent pieces I have read, my favorite is one they published called "Updating Our Fears and Bugaboos," an interview with the renowned psychiatrist Dr. Eric Trotman. Trotman, evidently a veteran of the interview game, evinces the familiar marks of the trade: the insouciance that masks a deep concern, the deliberate ungrammatical phrasing that invites empathy, the seeming irrelevance that knows exactly where it is going—things like that. I give the interview in its completeness.

Q. Dr. Trotman, do all men have fears?

A. Yes, all men fear something or other. Some men fear cats. Other men may fear a dog. I have known a few married men who feared their wives. But I suppose the most universal fear of all is the fear people have when their car is lubricated—that the car will fall off the pneumatic lift.

Q. How do the fears of modern urban man differ from, say, the fears of ancient man?

A. Ancient man's fears were specific. In the fourteenth century, for instance, man feared plagues, famine, drought. Going back a few thousand years, you have your cave man. He feared things like bears and saber-toothed tigers. Modern man no longer has such specific fears. Out of the thousands of patients I have treated, I can't remember more than a dozen who feared bears, and not half that many who feared saber-toothed tigers. Modern man's fears are vague and unfocused.

Q. Why is this?

A. Because modern man is vague and unfocused. I'll give you an example from my clinical practice—it's based on what they call the "generation gap." A distinguished and successful man came to my office one day in need of treatment. He had some sort of acute problem, but he didn't know exactly what it was. He was a corporate executive—had a lovely wife, fine children, the "status" bit—but still something was unnerving him. Under analysis it came out that he was deeply worried about his oldest son, a fine young man who held down a very good job and was engaged to a 32-year-old widow. Although the father didn't realize it, he was worried to death about this son.

Q. Why was this?

A. Well, for one thing, the boy was only 15 years old. Subconsciously, the father couldn't accept the age differential. That's what we mean by the generation gap.

Q. Do you mean the gap between the father and his son, or the son and the widow?

A. Take your choice! That's what I mean about vague, unfocused fears.

Q. Well, were you able to help?

A. No, as a matter of fact, I wasn't. We went on and worked with the widow, however, and we were able to help her a little. I could give you countless other examples of the vagueness of this modern "climate of fear," as it's called. It's even affecting us psychiatrists. Since the Ellsberg incident few of us will even touch a government employee. You never know when a CIA man will break into your office and steal your records or your couch. As a consequence, government employees are getting their psychiatric work done by second- and third-rate quacks.

Q. That's . . . er . . . interesting. Could we turn to the energy crisis? How has this affected people's fears and tensions?

A. It has increased them noticeably. People are disturbed, apprehensive, and in some cases—cold! I'm getting all these fantasies and nightmares from my patients lately. One man dreamed he was driving a limousine down the street and it suddenly turned into a bicycle. Another has this fantasy that he's taking a nice hot shower and the water turns ice cold. Then there was the fellow who told me he has this recurrent dream that he is an enormous offshore oil rig. A schizophrenic that I treat at the state mental hospital, and who has always imagined that he was a diesel engine, told me recently that he had changed into a steam locomotive.

Q. Are current fears affecting the stock market?

A. Well, I'm no economist, but I've treated rich patients through the years and I think I know a little about the matter, even though my own stocks are down. Basically, when your investor gets scared, he tenses up. He goes numb. He's paralyzed.

Q. So he panics and sells his stocks?

A. No, quite the contrary. This fear, this numbness, makes him hang on to the stocks. He stops phoning his broker, and just wanders off.

Q. Then who is responsible for the current plunge?

A. It's the people who are not afraid. They see how lousy the market looks and they run out and sell before

(Continues on page 495)

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Arts & Manners

THEATER

JERE REAL

Final Curtain?

The late Bennett Cerf once reported a conversation he had with playwright Noël Coward one evening during the London Blitz; Coward, it seems, told Cerf he had appraised his own dramatic career: "I know two things about my plays: one, they are the best of their kind being written today; two, posterity will judge them worthless."

Like the uneasy mixture of wit and despair that marked much of Coward's writing, his appraisal was overly ambivalent. Posterity may prove the author as wrong as it has his critics. For five decades, Coward was lambasted for being clever, but frivolous—technically excellent, but altogether quite superficial—by those who regularly dissected drama. A more detached view, particularly in light of recent revivals of his work and his newly produced final play, reveals that Coward's drama always was an intricately balanced combination of high comedy, an acute delineation of human absurdity, and theatrical professionalism.

Quite simply, Coward's drama possessed style. And to discover suddenly the essence of style in a new play on Broadway these days is a delight rather like coming upon that lobster for lunch in your refrigerator that you'd forgotten you brought home the night before in a doggie bag. His new play, *Noël Coward in Two Keys*, currently in New York at the Ethel Barrymore, surprises just that way: you knew how it would turn out to be—but you had forgotten.

The play is an abridgment of his *Suite in Three Keys* staged in London in 1966. It reminds me of an old *New Yorker* cartoon of a very small boy in an obviously palatial town house confronting a bowl of soup. "It is not a great soup," the boy pronounced, "but it *is* a very good soup." The current play is not great Coward, with the superior flair and vitality of *Private Lives* or even the calculated anarchy of *Design for Living*, but it is still quite good enough to make Neil Simon rush to reread his next script.

Naturally, the play's performance is viewed with the gnawing realization that it is the last new dramatic work by Coward we'll get to see. His publishers tell me that there are no more plays in the vault awaiting publication or production, only his letters, journals, and the final, incomplete volume of his autobiography. A massive "official" biography probably has been delayed by

Noël Coward

the recent murder of author James Pope-Hennessy. But the final play reveals a lot about Coward the man and the dramatist.

The current production, exquisitely played by its cast of four (Hume Cronyn, Jessica Tandy, Anne Baxter, and Thom Christopher), wisely omits a somber short play in the original *Suite*, a stoical acceptance of death entitled "Shadows of the Evening." However, it successfully juxtaposes the remaining two parts, the longer "A Song at Twilight," in which an aging author confronts his homosexual past, and the amusing "Come into the Garden, Maud," where a disarmingly blunt American millionaire (a favorite American type Coward had used earlier in *Quadrille*) tosses aside a joyless marriage to run off with a minor Italian princess. "Only a Sicilian one," his harridan wife tells him.

The play's format is familar: different stories with varying characters are played out against the same setting (as in *Plaza Suite*), in this instance, a luxurious hotel in Switzerland. The waiter, played with suave composure by Thom Christopher, remains the constant figure. Cronyn, Tandy, and Baxter become first the trio of Verner and Anna-Mary Conklin and Princess Maud Caragnani, and then they are Sir Hugo Latymer; his wife, Hilde; and Hugo's former mistress, actress Carlotta Gray.

WHILE "Maud" is fleetingly reminiscent of the pleasant infidelities of Elyot and Amanda in *Private Lives*, where marital mates were borrowed and exchanged with blasé efficiency, and all moralizing was left for the foolish or the pretentious, "A Song at Twilight" is another matter. Hume Cronyn's characterization of the aged author forced to face the false image of his public life is superbly etched. When first presented, many surmised that Coward was writing about his longtime friend, the equally irascible Somerset Maugham. Others since have suggested that he was writing about himself. (Hugo tells Carlotta at one point: "I am not interested in the scruffy surmises of the mediocre.") It sounds like Coward, but whoever his model—and the possibilities among British authors of this century are nearly infinite—the inner struggle of Hugo, agonizingly portrayed by Cronyn in a final scene, has real power.

Coward's play appeared shortly before Parliament acted to make homosexual acts between consenting adults legal in Great Britain, and, as a result, some dialogue has been deleted to account for subsequent events. One

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Jere Real *is now completing a critical study of Noël Coward's plays. . . .* **Jackson Toby** *is a professor of sociology at Rutgers College.*

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wonders, however, why much of the drama's argument for legalizing homosexuality has been omitted; this production was mounted for American audiences, and the type of laws it attacked still obtains for the most part, in this country. Similarly missing are some nasty comments by Sir Hugo on today's youth.

The conflict of the play is precipitated when Hugo's former mistress, Carlotta (assertively played by Anne Baxter in a mood reminiscent of her ambitious actress in *All about Eve*), threatens to publish homosexual love letters the author wrote many years earlier. Speaking to Hugo, she states the play's theme:

> You flew into a fine theatrical passion just now when I said you had been a homosexual all your life. Do you consider that an insult? . . . If there had been a sneer in my voice, which there wasn't, it would not have been a sneer at the fact, but at your lifelong repudiation of it. . . .

That line, appearing in 1966 originally, went a long way toward bridging the gap between "Reading Gaol" and *Boys in the Band.*

BUT Coward was never one to sacrifice repartee to social comment. Both new plays are filled with his machine-gun verbal volleys:

> Carlotta: I had your photograph on the table by my bed. . . . Sometimes I even went to sleep with it under my pillow. Hugo: I hope you had the sense to take it out of its frame.

More revealing here, too, is the way in which all the principals demonstrate that what is *not* said in Cowardian drama is as important as what is. Coward made severe demands on the rhetorical pause, the subtle stage gesture—things not spelled out in stage directions, but necessary to make his plays work. These short works reveal him as a consummate man of the theater, for whom acting knowledge was a requirement not merely of the players but also the playwright. That knowledge is Coward's link with the great dramatists of the English stage from Shakespeare to Pinter. It enabled him to achieve early commercial success, to endure critical disdain, and to see his own view—that of the theater as a place of entertainment—proven accurate by the various revivals of his works shortly before his death last year. *Coward in Two Keys* well may be his final drama, but, most certainly, it is not his final curtain. □

TELEVISION

DAVID BRUDNOY

Tom, Dick, Jerry, et al.

He is adorable, no doubt about that: a beatific smile awarded him personally by Guru Maharaj Ji. He is neat: his hair modishly short but sweeping lovingly over the ears, his eyes sparkling with the Perfect Master's reflected light. He is Rennie Davis. And he, with Abbie Hoffman in levi chic, Jerry Rubin in cowboy shirt and one wee

Judge Julius Hoffman

earring, and Tom Hayden in proletarian drab, is invited into your house and mine, courtesy Dick Cavett. It is the much publicized, twice postponed, now "balanced" Cavett special on whither the loony Left of yore.

And it is, was, a crashing bore. The pother this whole incident inspired was astounding. ABC found the program unbalanced (that is, lacking counterpoint, not off its rocker), and feared to send it out over the airwaves to make—well, more waves than the network cared to swim through. The "ferociously brilliant" Tom (Mr. Jane Fonda) Hayden called the U.S. "genocidal," then let fly with predictable assaults on South Vietnam for its chutzpah in defending itself, but neglected to let us hear from his lips a single discouraging word about the Democratic Whatsits of Hanoi. It went on and on till 1 A.M., Thursday March 21, and seldom has spring been ushered in so gently by the contemporary Left.

Cavett, for whom Hayden is an "intellectual of note" and Judge Julius Hoffman an "old geezer," was in rare form himself. As he noted in a newly taped intro to the program, he had assumed that *he* would provide the balance. Which he did by asking giggling questions of Tom about Jane and by lashing out at a heckler in the audience: "We're doing the show up here!" The 90-minute session with the old New Leftists was followed, at the network's insistence, by a 30-minute session with Jeffrey St. John and Illinois YAF chairman Fran Griffin. Miss Griffin tried hard to respond to Cavett's obviously bored questioning; St. John went on and on about how the "radicals" are really *reactionaries* (ho-hum), and how he had predicted it all, the Chicago riots, the conspiracy trial antics, etc., and how these "basically dishonest, morally corrupt, nihilistic, socialistic reactionaries . . . want to destroy the efficacy of all American institutions," and so forth, till 1:30 A.M. Cavett was all but obsequious, with sly little, *what, me biased?* smiles playing about his pixie face; oh yes, he insisted, he had found some of what Tom & Jerry & Abbie & Rennie said just preposterous, so much so he had let it go unchallenged, such being the most balanced response he could make. But, he sternly reminded St. John and Miss Griffin, if the four hadn't actually *said* something—like, um, Communism is preferable to capitalism—then how could one say the four had even *implied* it?

Poor St. John; poor Miss Griffin. So compulsively rational. So very polite to Dick Cavett, Intellectual. Trying so hard to make sense out of nonsense. After everyone else had gone to bed. □

MUCKRAKING

JACKSON TOBY

Sin in High Places

In a recent column entitled "Suckered," John Leonard, editor of the *New York Times Book Review*, charged that criminal lawyer Melvin Belli had hoodwinked him. Some ten weeks earlier Belli had telephoned Leonard and volunteered to review Charles Ashman's *The Finest Judges Money Can Buy.* Belli suggested that the reviewing assignment would give him "an opportunity to tell some stories of his own with judges who could be bought." Indeed it did. On November 18, Belli contributed supporting anecdotes to his review

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of *The Finest Judges Money Can Buy*. The review itself glowed with praise:

> In an era when government misbehavior is routine and muckraking exposé a regular part of our literary diet, the author has gone yet one step beyond. The reader must be impressed with the scope of this book's documentation. The impact of meticulous details of judicial machinations by many who still sit and judge is stunning.

What editor Leonard did not realize when he commissioned the review—or even when he published it—was that something rather incestuous was afoot. Belli's favorable attitude toward the book was already expressed on its dust jacket; author Ashman was once director of the Belli Foundation; and the "affidavit of verification" reported in the book was filed with the law firm of Belli, Ashe, Ellison, and Choulos. An *interested* party (Belli) had persuaded the editor of the *New York Times Book Review* (Leonard) to commission him to write a supposedly disinterested evaluation of a book by a friend and former client (Ashman). Moreover, Belli knew that Ashman had a potential grudge against judges. As Leonard put it in his December 16 column, "Is a man who was required to resign from the Florida bar in 1964, after a felony conviction for bad checks, the ideal person to write a book about judicial corruption?"

Editor Leonard went on to account for the embarrassing situation in terms of "the fallibility of editors and the ethics of reviewers." But he also offered the explanation that "a solemn literary journal is always on the lookout for evidence of sin in high places." Perhaps the editors of the *Times Book Review* were *excessively* alert to the possibility of sin in high places, so alert that they became gullible in the face of a book with a title like *The Finest Judges Money Can Buy*. After all, Melvin Belli is known as a flamboyant criminal lawyer, not as a scholar with an objective attitude toward judges. Furthermore, editors have learned from experience that people who volunteer to review a book usually have an axe to grind. Leonard confessed another departure from standard operating procedure in the Belli case: "Another rule around here is that a reviewer's copy should be checked by an editor against the book under review. Inexcusably, the Belli review was 'styled,' set in type, and stuffed into the back of the magazine while we were waiting for Ashman's book to arrive from its California publisher." Why were the editors so ready to believe that judges could be bought?

The editors of the *Times Book Review* had exposed sin in high places before. On December 17, 1972, they devoted the front page to a review of books dealing with the Attica prison riot of September 1971. The reviewer passed lightly over the behavior of the rioters (including the fatal stabbing of three fellow inmates) and hastened to criticize the motives of Nelson Rockefeller and his reform-minded Commissioner of Correction, Russell Oswald, for risking the lives of guards and inmates in ordering an assault on the

Russell Oswald

prison: "To such politicians, the lives of such poorly-connected men probably do not matter much." This judgment was more cynical than the report of the special citizens' commission to investigate the riot (the McKay Report), one of the books under review, and totally incompatible with Oswald's account of his efforts to avoid the assault he ultimately ordered. The editors, however, must have found a cynical interpretation convincing; they ran the review on the front page and did not elect to publish the letters they must have received questioning a one sided condemnation of these officials.

Is there really more sin in high places than in low places? Is that a lesson of Watergate and other Washington scandals? Or are the editors of the *Times Book Review* more sensitive to wrongdoing by the powerful than by the powerless? This ancient sensitivity, which the *Times* might have illustrated with quotations from Jeremiah and Isaiah, is a useful antidote for moral complacency on the part of privileged persons. But it runs the danger of sentimentality, of believing that judges are morally inferior to defendants, teachers to students, guards to prisoners, parents to children. It is true that the opposite error used to be made: a self-righteous assumption that sin occurred only in *low* places. Such complacency was the arrogance of power. But the assumption that sin is a monopoly of the Establishment is equally mistaken. All human institutions are imperfect; *some* judges can be bought, and *some* prison guards are sadistic. What else is new?

The imperfections of human beings and therefore of human institutions mean that we never get the choice between pure virtue and pure vice. In the case of the legal system, society depends on most judges, most of the time, being honest enough, conscientious enough, and scholarly enough to give litigants a fair trial. The justification of prisons is similar—not that all prisoners are vicious and that all persons outside of prisons are virtuous, but that *most* incarcerated persons have been too violent or predatory to be contained in the free community. It would be foolish and possibly hypocritical to deny that some so-called "criminals" are punished disproportionately for trifling offenses and some predatory businessmen and politicians enjoy prosperity and freedom. This is one concrete consequence of imperfection. The criminal justice system is "a proximate solution to an insoluble problem."

Sure, there is sin in high places. If this needed to be demonstrated, the Watergate investigation was conclusive. But there is at least as much sin in low places. More than a generation ago, when the United States was wrestling with the moral complexities of involvement in the struggle against Nazism, Reinhold Niebuhr criticized pacifism as a copout. It was a liberal illusion, he argued, to wait for perfect causes; there are none. Men of good will must fight for the *better* cause lest it lose out to the worse, although we should not delude ourselves that any cause or institution is free of sin. If the war against the Nazis was not free of sin, neither is the war on poverty or on crime. Once this principle is understood, the corruption of judges or the sadism of guards will not occasion cynicism. The *New York Times Book Review* should maintain professional standards regardless of whether the book deals with sin in high, medium, or low places. □

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BOOKS

Banal Bunnies

D. KEITH MANO

Watership Down
By Richard Adams
Macmillan, 429 pp., $6.95

I'm writing my seventh novel: it's called *Herbert Cunningham Gnu*. I know a bandwagon when it runs me over: 1971, dolphins; 1972, seagulls; 1973-74, rabbits. From the land of Beatrix Potter and nationalized strikes, has come *Watership Down*, Richard Adams' lapine odyssey. Believe me, nothing depresses the spirit more surely than a sententious rabbit. Yet *Watership Down* has had "unanimous praise from England."

"An exceptional book, a true original." "It doesn't fit any known formula, thank goodness." Nonsense: it fits five or six. This bunny squad could be a John Wayne platoon of GIs. The foresighted, tactful rabbit leader. The fast rabbit. The clever rabbit. The blustery, hard-fighting noncom rabbit. Athos, Porthos, and D'Artagnan on a diet of grass. *Watership Down* is pleasant enough, but it has about the same intellectual firepower as *Dumbo*. "Refreshes a reader's feeling for the world of man." Apparently more than one reviewer has been rabbited out of his critical faculties. After all, if your dog started speaking French you'd be loath to criticize his pronunciation. Yet if Hazel and Bigwig and Dandelion were men, they'd make very commonplace characters. What seems a moral, an insight, is just a novelty.

"A true classic." Right. *Watership Down* goes blue in the face being classic. Adams has tagged a scholarly quotation onto each of 50 chapters. These indicate an Oxford education; also a lust for the irrelevant. "The centurion commanded that they which could swim should cast themselves first into the sea . . . (Acts of the Apostles, chapter 27)." That means the rabbits are about to cross a stream. Scripture and three dozen masterpieces of Western literature have their go at goosing this children's tale into sham relevance. So the fake footnotes, so the glossary of lapine argot. "Hrududu=motor vehicle. Hraka=droppings, excreta." Richard Adams (who, by Jove, *looks* like a rabbit) seems to be one of those nice, gentle Englishmen, we've all met one, who can still parse Propertius while giving a Christian name to every shrub that blows: "a . . . hedge of purple loosestrife, great willow herb, fleabane, figwort, and hemp agrimony, here and there already in bloom." Mere lists; unvisualized. But lending a professorial "deep" tone to *Watership Down*. The *Peter Rabbit* of your childhood couldn't tell stitchwort from an anabasis.

"The political suggestiveness is reminiscent of *Animal Farm* . . ." Nuts: I can sniff an allegory when I'm downwind of one, and this book leaves no such spoor—as the reviewer lamely goes on to concede, ". . . although there is no actual political parallel." The rabbits encounter two warren societies: one totalitarian and one effete. You get that kind of "political suggestiveness" in old *Star Trek* reruns. The spaceship from a good, democratic civilization lands among Nazis, hedonists . . . whatever. There aren't the one-to-one correspondences, the particular images that you encounter, say, in *Gulliver's Travels* or in the aforementioned *Animal Farm*. *Watership Down* is an adventure story, no more than that: rather a swashbuckling, crude one to boot. There are virtuous rabbits and bad rabbits: if that's allegory, *Bonanza* is an allegory.

"Its first feat is to set the rabbit free from all previous literary overtones." True enough. Adams knows his zoology. I was interested to learn that rabbits can swim, fight cats and stoats, reabsorb their kittens; information cribbed, Adams freely admits, from R. M. Lockley's *The Private Life of the Rabbit*. "The story is what one might expect had *Wind in the Willows* been written after two world wars, various marks of nuclear bomb, the Korean and Vietnam obscenities, and half a dozen other hells created by the inexhaustibly evil powers of man." *Hraka* on that. Adams is honest at least; faithful to Lockley. Rabbits, even his heroes, aren't what the Zeitgeist reviewer would like to believe. These "natural" creatures are male chauvinist bucks; their does get treated like, well . . . animals. They fight and kill for piddling reasons, and they consider it a noble business. Indeed Adams says, "One respect in which rabbits' lives are less complicated than those of humans is that they are not ashamed to use force." Read that as you may, it doesn't spell "the inexhaustibly evil powers of man." *Watership Down* takes pride in fierce duels and set-piece battles; it would make the first kung fu film for rabbits.

I suspect that the "unanimous praise from England" tells us more about England than it does about *Watership Down*. This is an okay book; well enough written. But it is grossly overrated. The extravagant notices come

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D. Keith Mano's *sixth novel was* The Bridge. . . . **Edwin M. Yoder Jr.** *also reviews for* Book World, Saturday Review, *and* Harper's. . . . **Charles Nicol** *teaches at Indiana State University.* . . . **Ruth Berenson** *is* NR*'s art critic.* . . . **Vincent Miller** *is in the English Department of Wofford College, Spartanburg, South Carolina.* . . . **Chilton Williamson Jr.** *is an editor at St. Martin's Press.* . . . *Book reviews are indexed in* Book Review Index.

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from a people sick to death of men things, of the political process. "Human" fiction, which promises to teach about real life, will suffer from the national despondency. British readers seem to have lost their nerve. Trapped between the badger Wilson and the weasel Heath, they have crept, on quick all fours, back into a second childishness. I'm curious—and somewat afraid —to see the American reviews of *Watership Down.* □

Intellectual Skywriting
By Philip Nobile
Charterhouse, 312 pp., $7.95

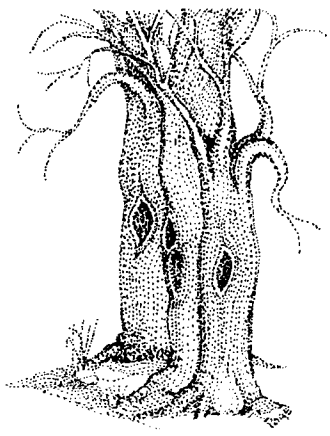
MANHATTAN CHOWDER

EDWIN M. YODER JR.

In these days when gods lose their savor and priestly castes are made of mere sociologists and litterateurs, no wonder our celebrated literary feuds breathe an air of *odium theologicum.* What indeed, since angels no longer dance on pinheads, could surpass in cosmic moment what Chomsky responded to what Wrong wrote about Izzy's view of what Fairbank said about Lyndon's war with Ho?

Strangely, such supreme issues were stirred by the mild craft of book reviewing, or rather the sort of reviewing that *The New York Review of Books* did in its first decade. "Before *NYR* showed its stuff," says Mr. Nobile, "the reviewing business was a gentlemanly affair carried on with charity toward all and malice toward none, or almost none."

WELL, somewhat anyway. Here, Nobile discloses his youth; or else he has forgotten the bloodier deeds of Dwight Macdonald's middle years (e.g., his *New Yorker* job on Colin Wilson's *The Outsider,* circa 1956). As a generality, however, it is sound enough. *NYR* undoubtedly changed American book reviewing. Emerging as it did from the newspaper strike of 1963, and in the temporary absence of the despised *Times Book Review,* it had every promise of greatness. Its sponsors even included Edmund Wilson. It might have been a *stupor mundi.* Instead it introduced into what had been the harmless drudgery of gentlemanly bookmen a fishwifelike stridency, an internecine bloody-mindedness, that might almost, if not quite, generate a longing for Francis Brown and J. Donald Adams.



It was predictable in a way, if one notes the toplofty declaration of its editors in the first issue, that *NYR* would ignore books "trivial in their intentions or venal in their effects, except occasionally to reduce a temporarily inflated reputation or call attention to a fraud." A typically smug Manhattan objective, so a provincial might suppose, but the fraud detector often malfunctioned and trivial intentions could not explain why *NYR* ignored so many books. Roszak, Reich, Millett, Coles, Moynihan published books of importance that were never reviewed. Nobile supplies a long list.

OF LATE, *NYR* is not flying quite as high as it did in brazen youth, when it was earning Mr. Agnew's contempt and a place as a prop in *Bob & Carol & Ted & Alice.* Nobile does not question the usual judgment that it was the Vietnam war, with its fissioning of the intelligentsia and its devastation of literary manners, that derailed *NYR.* In 1967, a "great leap leftward" propelled it into a period of radicalism, such that it sported one long hot summer day the diagram of a Molotov cocktail on the cover—inviting every addled Verloc to roll (or is it pour?) his own. "Long after *NYR* expires," as Nobile felicitously says, "it will be remembered, like Ralph Branca, for a single pitch."

It is tempting to exaggerate a mere symbol of the radical diatribes that for a season occupied its pages —a season well described by Irving Kristol when "highly complex intelligence[s] were simplifying themselves politically," and when otherwise shrewd critics drooled over *Macbird* as if seeing Aristophanes reborn.

No, the faults of *NYR* included, but are not exhausted by, its venture into radical polemics. Considered simply as a review of books, it could be intelligent, but could also be long-winded (most intolerably so), capriciously selective, philistine (on fiction), cliquish, insular in its neglect and obtuse even in its notice of regional writing (especially about William Faulkner), and often merely petty.

One hastens to acknowledge that these are the reviewer's judgments, not the author's; for while Nobile does not stint criticism he is very reverent. He thinks that *NYR,* like sex, is "pretty good" even when it's horrible; and he has a far sharper blade for its detractors than for its editors.

CONSIDER, for instance, the ad hominem attack on editor Norman Podhoretz of *Commentary,* which has been consistently critical: "During LBJ's deluge, *Commentary* read like a collaborationist's journal, and Podhoretz seemed practically Petainist in his sympathies for the occupying power . . ." One does a double take at the arrogant nonsense, the Orwellian doubletalk, of it all. "Petainist" to persist in equable disagreement with one's own government? Perhaps so, if that government, albeit elected by a landslide, is deemed an "occupying" (i.e., usurping) "power." Nobile, who is usually a fairminded and foursquare lad, has here borrowed his nasty tone from the *NYR* polemicists of the radical phase, perhaps. Happily, the scandalous attack on Podhoretz is unrepresentative of *Intellectual Skywriting,* which is organized and documented with some care. I wish I could say the same for the writing, which is most uneven. Nobile has a bizarre way of stringing words together—at least when he nods—so that one encounters such mindbenders as: "a continuum of choice pejoratives," "sliced off a prime cut of his gloomy Weltanschauung," "civilized life was just a bowl of Sisyphean rocks," and—my favorite—"no one lacking privy to the . . . dossier." No doubt this book will set off another round of Manhattan polemics; thin blood will be spilled in trickles and many will be scorched by flaring diatribes. It makes one happy to live in the country and to lack privy, as Nobile would put it, to those circles. □

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Pilgrim at Tinker Creek
By Annie Dillard
Harper's Magazine Press, 271 pp., $7.95

LOOKING SPRING IN THE EYE

CHARLES NICOL

Not a pilgrim on his path but a hermit in her hold, Annie Dillard lives next to Tinker Creek, a stream in Virginia's Blue Ridge that half circles her house and almost totally circumscribes her world, the most evocative watershed since Walden Pond. And in the tradition of Thoreau her book is less an observation of nature than a meditation on man's place in the world, less the chronicle of a year than a year's honing of a lifetime's insights.

This book intends to be what Thoreau called "a meteorological journal of the mind," the mind's turning through a year in Nature. Remarkably, this looming predecessor seems fair company for Annie Dillard. Following Emerson, both Thoreau and Dillard agree that our minds reflect Nature, and Nature reflects our minds; yet each reacts to this mystery in his own way. Emerson carried the argument all the way to a new proof of God (wherein both Man and Nature are reflections of the Oversoul); Thoreau carried it into an experimental lifestyle where

two years in the woods provoked him to invent, perform, and publicize modern civil disobedience; and Annie Dillard turns it back on itself to ask what kind of a world this really is, and what kind of minds we must have, that they should respond so to each other. She has felt the horrors Melville felt, which made Emerson's sweetness seem a kind of blindness, and she has thrilled to visions of the earthly paradise.

Her world coalesces around two central visions. The first is "the tree with the lights in it," a dazzling union of sunlight and sensibility:

> I saw the backyard cedar where the mourning doves roost charged and transfigured, each cell buzzing with flame. I stood on the grass with the lights on it, grass that was wholly fire, utterly focused and utterly dreamed. It was less like seeing than like being for the first time seen, knocked breathless by a powerful glance. . . . I had been my whole life a bell, and never knew it until at that moment I was lifted and struck.

Around this epiphany circle all the other moments where life offers gifts to whoever chooses to behold them: a mockingbird that took one careful step off a roof; a green wave full of sharks and skylight; a muskrat that sat beside her to munch greens; an afternoon of marching clouds; the flooded creek.

THE OTHER vision was a glimpse of horror, a frog in Tinker Creek that, paralyzed and sucked by a giant waterbug full of enzymes, shrank into a shard of frogskin in front of her, leaving her shaken, unable to catch her breath. Around this cluster other moments of confrontation with insects, her special demons, the stuff of a nightmare world brought with her from childhood where a moth throbbed in its cocoon from the warmth of children's hands in a January classroom and emerged huge with hopelessly folded wings in a mason jar, and where a hatch of praying mantises devoured each other in their jar until the last two died grappling. She chases the bugs into books, and emerges with more horrors from the pages of the entomologists. Here is the world where the spheres were formed in fright. Once she sits down next to a copperhead and is appalled by the mosquito that drills into even that horny head for sustenance. The mindless and awful fecundity of insects makes the world a bottomless pit of eros and destruction.

There is a danger in developing a sensibility that can be struck like a bell. Once so close to the mysteries of earth one is marked forever, and cannot always escape to tell us. She is overwhelmed by the mingled life that roars in a drop of water, full of the vertigo of infinity, and panicked at the sensation of falling off our rotating earth. "I lift my microscope down from the shelf, spread a drop of duck pond on a glass slide, and try to look spring in the eye." Something is being lost here, and Tinker Creek is dissolving into vertigo. She yearns to feel, like Kepler at his telescope, the warmth from the moon. Arctic journeys and the life of the Eskimos enter the narrative insistently. People, other people, are remarkably absent from this spare narration. She is slowly withdrawing from the abundance that frightens her. Does every hermit yearn for the North Pole? Yet however much she wants to "go up into the gaps," Annie Dillard has given us a hymn of praise to the world beneath her feet, a dark bright hymn worth singing. □

The Romantic Rebellion: Romantic versus Classic Art
By Kenneth Clark
Harper, 366 pp., $15

CLARK'S TIMEWORN ASSUMPTION

RUTH BERENSON

With his 1969 television series, *Civilization*, a brilliantly literate survey of Western European culture from the Vikings to Einstein, the name of Kenneth Clark (now Lord Clark of Saltwood), former Director of London's National Gallery and Slade Professor of Fine Arts at Oxford, achieved near household-word status, at least among public television aficionados. His book of the same title was a bestseller, and even his scholarly colleagues agreed that he had managed the near impossible feat of compressing his vast subject into 13 chapters without falsifying or cheapening it. His new book, *The Romantic Rebellion*, also derived from a TV series, thus arouses great expectations, and though they are not all fulfilled, on the whole it offers the neophyte a well written, if incomplete, introduction to some of the great artists of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For readers with more than a passing acquaintance with the subject, however, Lord Clark hasn't much new to say—though he does say it very well indeed.

Noting that "every great classical artist was a romantic at heart, and vice versa," he dismisses the conventional distinction between the two as largely

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RANDOM NOTES

■ JUST OUT: Robert Payne's latest, *The Great Man—A Portrait of Winston Churchill*, is etched in acid (Coward, $10.95). . . . John Eisenhower dubs his memoir *Strictly Personal* (Doubleday, $10.95). . . . Rabbi Meir Kahane of the Jewish Defense League issues *Our Challenge* (Chilton, $7.95). . . . In *Go East, Young Man*, Justice Douglas carries his life story up to his Supreme Court appointment in 1939 (Random House, $10). . . . Written at 88 and published posthumously: Maritain's *On the Church of Christ* (Notre Dame, $9.95; paper, $3.95). . . . James (*The Decline and Fall of Radical Catholicism*) Hitchcock now assays liturgical atrocities in *The Recovery of the Sacred* (Seabury, $6.95).

■ MAY BOOKS: Three biographies from Putnam: the last of Simone de Beauvoir's autobiography, *All Said and Done* ($7.95); *Weekends*, a memoir by Helena Rubinstein's biographer Patrick O'Higgins ($7.95); *Josh*, the autobiography of Joshua Logan ($10). . . . James Baldwin's new novel is called *If Beale Street Could Talk* (Dial, $6.95). . . . Three from Knopf: an Anthony Burgess novel based on Bonaparte and Beethoven's *Eroica* ($6.95); B. F. Skinner's *What Behaviorism Is* ($6.95); and a big, unflattering portrait by Robert Caro, *The Power Broker: Robert Moses and the Fall of New York* ($15). . . . The Watergate book by *Washington Post*men Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein is called *All the President's Men* (Simon & Schuster, $7.95). . . . C. L. Sulzberger sketches Sino-Soviet conflicts in *The Coldest War* (Harcourt, $5.95).

Randel Helms studies *Tolkien's World* (Houghton, $5.95). The same house offers a novel by Jane Barnes Casey called *I, Krupskaya: My Life with Lenin* ($6.95). . . . Stephen Spender assays British and American writers in *Love-Hate Relationships* (Random, $8.95). The same publisher unveils Daniel Boorstin's latest, *Democracy and Its Discontents* ($5.95). . . . *The Twelve Year Sentence: Radical Views of Compulsory Schooling* is a collection assembled by *NR* columnist William F. Rickenbacker (Open Court, $6.95). . . . John Osborne's *The Fifth Year of the Nixon Watch* includes caricatures by David Levine (Liveright, $6.95). . . . Peter Gay's ambiguously titled *Style in History* is actually about major historians and the roots of their styles (Basic, $8.95). . . . Translated from the French: Jules Monnerot's *The Sociology of Revolution* (Open Court, $12.95).

■ CLASSICAL MUSIC: Most impressive literary catalogue by and on what once were called longhair musicians is owned by Vienna House, 342 Madison Ave., New York 10017. From Bartok to Wagner, they're (almost) all here.

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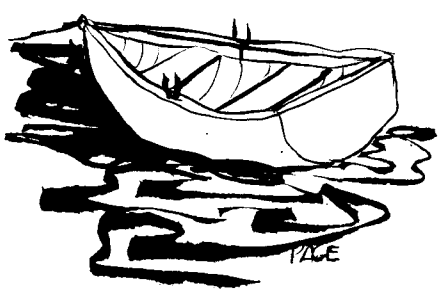
a matter of convenience for critics, providing them with a kind of shorthand symbol to distinguish between artists whose aim was to depict a timeless serenity and those trying to evoke drama and emotion. No matter what their ideology, classic or romantic, all the great artists at the end of the eighteenth century participated in the romantic rebellion that relegated rococo artificialities to the attic and set European culture on a new, modern course. Unfortunately, Lord Clark fails to make it clear that this rebellion was international in scope. Instead, he clings to the timeworn assumption that the history of nineteenth century art is the history of French art, with just a few exceptions—Goya in Spain, Blake, Turner, and Constable in England.

THUS his choice of artists exemplifying the romantic rebellion is a conventional one: David, Ingres (two chapters), Blake, Géricault, Delacroix, Turner (two chapters), Constable, Degas, and Rodin. There are a few surprises: his second chapter describes two artists usually considered outside the mainstream of romanticism: the great eighteenth century etcher, Giambattista Piranesi, whose haunting, cavernous prisons evoke the same feelings of nightmarish dread as the empty streets



of that twentieth century romantic, Chirico; and the puzzling (but to me, minor) artist, Henry Fuseli, whose vaguely erotic fantasies have lately been much *en vogue*. The other offbeat choice is François Millet, whose humble peasants, highly esteemed by our great grandparents, now seem the epitome of Victorian sentimentality. Lord Clark rightly admires his fine drawings and the solid monumentality of his figures—but I find him no substitute for Courbet and Daumier, incomparably more powerful and versatile; these are omitted, one assumes, because they loudly proclaimed themselves realists and revolutionaries—though surely their realism was an outgrowth of the romantic rebellion, and, indeed, part of it.

MORE SERIOUS is Lord Clark's neglect of the great German artists, Philipp Otto Runge and Caspar David Friedrich, whose contribution to romanticism was surely as significant as that of anyone in England or France. Their nonappearance is the more puzzling since in his preface to *Civilization* he was at pains to apologize for slighting German art in general and for having "left out the German romantics altogether." One wonders why, given this chance, he did not make amends. True, outside the German speaking countries neither artist is well known, all the more reason for including at least Friedrich here—for no one has ever conveyed through art feelings of longing with his intensity. Even Goethe, avowed foe of romanticism, felt his power, while one of those ubiquitous English bluestockings, Mrs. Anna Jameson, who visited his Dresden studio in 1834, had the acuity to realize what became clear to British critics only after the spectacular Friedrich exhibition put on by London's Tate Gallery last year. She wrote, "He is rather a mannerist in color, like Turner, but in the opposite excess: his genius revels in Gloom, as Turner's revels in light." Modern writers have noted equally cogent parallels between Blake's symbolism and Runge's, and both derived their outline drawings from the same source, John Flaxman. Indeed, the more one studies the eruption of romanticism in the late eighteenth century and its flowering in the nineteenth, the more one realizes it to have been as broadly international a phenomenon as gothic, renaissance, or baroque. It is too bad that Lord Clark's book, with its rather dated, insular approach, fails to make this clear.

On a more mundane note, the color illustrations are shockingly poor. Not all the pictures mentioned are illustrated, even in black and white. Finally, readers familiar with *Civilization* will discover that Lord Clark has plagiarized many of his choicest phrases from the earlier volume. □

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The Other South: Southern Dissenters in the Nineteenth Century
By Carl Degler
Harper, 392 pp., $10

RELEVANCE AT A COST

VINCENT MILLER

Professor Degler's subject is an interesting one, interestingly put. He writes of the "white Southerners during the nineteenth century who stood out against the prevailing views of their region while remaining there. . . . those Southerners who opposed slavery, supported the Union, rejected the Democratic Party in the 1880s, and joined the People's Party in the 1890s." All good enough, and told in fine fashion. Degler writes with verve. Even the students sent to read him will be spared pain and given pleasure.

THE BOOK also looks as if it should please the historians. As a scholarly synthesis, it is based on a seemingly endless number of little fact-finding studies each of which has taken some segment of Southern life and quantified the relation of, say, its economic wealth to its religious preference, or the density of its black population to its support of the Whig Party, or some such other. What historians should like is the fact that Degler gives the very definite impression that all these little studies move in his hands toward some final synthesis in which each laborer has his place and vital function. The whole profession thus seems justified and beautifully inviting, so much of its day to day functioning requiring then little or no talent, just a professor's leisure, a methodology, and a grant.

But it is precisely here that the trouble comes. Degler very much wants his book and all those studies to add up to something relevant. No doubt any historian does. But relevance isn't always an easy matter. Degler believes his study points to two things. The first is that the South "is not and never has been a monolith." The second is that it has nevertheless always had a distinct character of its own, that its dissenters "dissented, so to speak, in a Southern accent." Now so far as I can see, neither of these points hits and holds an all time high. Indeed they rather cancel each other out.

Standing with Mr. Degler atop that mountain of research, one does indeed see clearly that the South was not a monolith. And one also sees with equal clarity that its dissenters spoke with a Southern voice: which means, as Degler makes clear again and again, that they so spoke as not seriously to threaten the prevailing system, which put them down at will when they accidentally came to threaten it—put them down bloodily, when necessary. Now just about here, one begins to feel that what he just saw he didn't see, or that something very important about monolithic societies and how they operate has escaped him somehow.

After some thought I came to wonder if there is not a temptation for historians who want to be objective and scholarly and also to be relevant and current to become a bit shallow toward the end. Given the civil strife in Kentucky, or those 31,000 white Tennesseans in the Union Army (or the 5,000 from Louisiana); given the very existence of West Virginia, or the fact that the Vice President of the Confederacy and its President hardly spoke to one another, so divergent were their views; or given the less-than-sterling support North Carolina and Georgia gave Lee's Army of Northern Virginia, who ever *thought* the South was monolithic? What level of intelligence is Degler aiming at? And who, on whatever side of the matter, ever doubted from the 1830s on that slavery and the blacks were the South's inescapable problem, the nexus of its evil, conditioning and twisting all else?

I raise the question for a reason. The main thing a general reader comes away from Degler's book with is a sense of the diversity of interest involved in Southern history. But the book's main failing seems to me to be that this complexity is so presented as to stress relevant continuity. The main thread Degler uses to unify the Southern dissents he traces throughout his book is that the dominant South always at the pinch defended a dead system that was racist at its center, while "the Other South" was working for planned industrialization, a more effective central government responsive to the needs of the people and an orientation of political life around class-warfare rather than race-warfare issues. The relevance of Degler's synthesis to the political slogans of last year's elections or next year's is obvious enough. Indeed, Degler is careful to make that relevance clear. But it is perhaps relevance bought at a cost. Why support all those monographs, all that big industry, why even read Mr. Degler's book, to end up with what you knew anyway? Isn't it possible to up the standard a little?

ONE of the dullest, most ill-written and invalid of all old tomes available from "the Other South" is Alexander Stephens' *A Constitutional View*. But spend half an hour with it and you can see how much of *history*, of the *pastness* of the past, Degler leaves out in order to be relevant to the present. You can even see, albeit in a way Degler must appreciate more than I, how complexly relevant that history is. I confess I don't know how to quantify Stephens' views. And I admit I'm not much interested in political clichés. I'm not even an historian, or a Southerner. But there must be a host of other examples. □

Cold Winter, Cold War
By Robert G. Kaiser
Stein & Day, 226 pp., $8.95
Truman, the Jewish Vote, and the Creation of Israel
By John Snetsinger
Hoover Institution Press, 208 pp., $6.95

H S T WITHOUT TEARS

CHILTON WILLIAMSON JR.

The ideologies of university students of all ages and *New York Post* editorialists notwithstanding, what generally ails the world is not wickedness but stupidity, as illustrated by the treaties here con-

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sidered. The test between these twin scourges of humankind can perhaps be reduced to a simple question—can the goblin be fought? If the answer is in the negative, then in all likelihood stupidity is the rough beast before us: stupidity liberally reinforced, or diluted, by that common ingredient in all our destinies, simple chance. I have just been reading a great deal about such woolly fauna. Robert Kaiser and John Snetsinger have interesting things to say about how foreign policies are hatched in the democracies, almost all of them calculated to drive the international relations specialists and the political science boys wild.

KAISER argues that Harry Truman's announcement of the Truman Doctrine to a joint session of Congress on March 12, 1947 marked the beginning of the cold war: until that date "the differences between [the United States and the Soviet Union] were polemical: after the Truman Doctrine they were tangible." While "the foolishness of the cold war crusade seems to have convinced some historians that its origins were as perverse as its ultimate consequences," Kaiser begs off from this conclusion. He does not believe that skulduggery and conspiracy had anything to do with the Truman ukase: the President and his then Secretary of State, George Marshall, were led to their almost inescapable decision to support the failing Greek regime through a combination of political circumstances prevailing in London and Washington, many of which owed little, if anything, to a virulent anti-Communist bias—though certainly a well conceived mistrust of Stalin never allowed British and American politicians to neglect the looming shadow of the Soviet Union to the East. Because the American public was preoccupied with the postwar shortage of silk stockings and hot dogs and with other domestic chills and complaints, and because too of the Pollyanna-like optimism until recently endemic in the U.S.A., it was loath to conclude that the Russians were full of vinegar and enmity and hence was unwilling, in 1946 and the early part of '47, to countenance a policy directed at taking up cudgels—even paper money cudgels—against them.

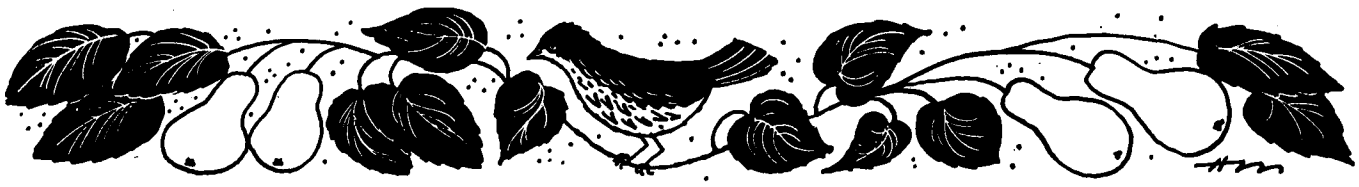
Unhappily for the self-isolating Americans, however, their British cousins were suffering all manner of cramps and dislocations of truly dreadful intensity—a crippling shortage of consumer goods and an adverse balance of payments—to which was added, in February of 1947, an acute fuel crisis which led to a drastic cutback in electrical power and which dramatized for the rest of the world what Kaiser describes as the "frailty" of the British condition. Under the circumstances, it would have appeared logical to any British political party—not to mention the Labor Party—to cut back Britain's subsidies to her foreign beneficiaries: occupied Germany, for one, but also the former properties and proctectorates of the British Empire. Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin, after studying the situation, decided that the luxury of shoring up the unsavory and incompetent Greek government against the Communist insurgents in that country's northern parts was one that the Exchequer could no longer afford. When he said so, in February 1947, he not only precipitated a hurried decision on the part of Truman and the U.S. Department of State to shoulder the burden of Greece's defense but also a public fright—the distracting meat shortage in America having run its course—making that policy politically popular in the United States. In so doing he also made manifest his country's decline from the top rank of the world's nations and, by allowing the United States to draw the line between free world and captive, abdicated his seat at the board of the major international power brokers. (Needless to say, neither Bevin nor Prime Minister Clement Attlee saw things that way at the time: they were fully expectant that Britain would regain her former exalted place in the world after her economic difficulties were solved—which, of course, they never really were.)

In presenting this story, Kaiser is interested in making two points very clear, the first of which being that neither the United States nor Great Britain considered her policies to be in any way sinister or morally disreputable. The Soviet Union, in the nearly two years since the conclusion of World War II, had given Western leaders ample reason to question her sincerity and her motives: in pumping cash into Greece, Marshall and Truman were merely acting with circumspection. A State Department committee report, upon which Truman in part based his decision to help Greece, suggests that the Greek government was supported with the intent of frustrating, rather than fostering, spheres of influence in the Mediterranean. The restoration of such spheres, said that document, "would . . . undermine the foundations of the United Nations."

Kaiser's second point is that the Truman Doctrine was not born of a carefully planned conspiracy. Truman's uncertain response to Henry Wallace's explosive foreign policy speech at Madison Square Garden in the fall of 1946 suggests to Kaiser that the President arrived very late at a cohesive foreign policy program, and that the events of the subsequent February provided him with both a halo of illumination and the political means to act upon his sudden enlightenment. Despite his own sizable contribution to his policy resolutions, he was also the lucky victim of a string of domestic and international circumstances wholly beyond his control.

When it came to the issue of Palestine, however, Truman—who, had he so chosen, could have been less dependent upon international pressures than he had been in the Greek matter and its ensuing commitments—acted with less evenness and responsibility, though in the end fate smiled just as kindly on him.

IN ONE of numerous understatements John Snetsinger observes that "foreign policy is never created in a vacuum." His study is dedicated to the memory of Robert F. Kennedy, but it had much better have been dedicated to this proposition. In a brief 140 pages he catalogues the foisting, by a series of lobbies representing America's 5.6 million



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Jews, of one of the country's most costly foreign policy decisions upon a careless public, and upon a political party and its President who permitted electoral politics to guide their considerations at every turn. Snetsinger shows Truman skipping the bullets aimed at his feet with such facility that Merle Miller, reading about it, would fancy himself a goatish 20-odd, watching the busted haberdasher capering about like a clownish ranch hand in the boots of his departed Boss. Truman, Snetsinger points out, felt no commitment to Israel in 1945. In fact, the man whom Israel's chief rabbi described as one "put in [his] mother's womb so [he] would be the instrument to bring about the rebirth of Israel after 2,000 years" had no emotional commitment to that principality when on May 16, 1948 he astounded most of the world and enraptured one of its smaller tribes by recognizing Israel as an autonomous state. Rather, primed with psephological data by his aide Clark Clifford on the one hand, and with international prognostications by the State Department on the other, Harry flopped ridiculously, alternately supporting the idea of a Jewish state in Palestine a) when it was politically advantageous at home and/or b) when he thought he could get away with it overseas, and attempting to weasel out of his self-imposed commitments. At the time of his accession to the Presidency, the State Department warned him against offending the Arabs: at times he listened to them and at times not—most particularly not in the early spring of 1948, after the Czechoslovakian unpleasantness suggested to him the impracticability of embroiling the United States in yet another portion of the globe. Secretary of Defense James Forrestal warned Truman that within a few years America's automobile manufacturers would be designing four-cylinder motorcars if the Zionist lobby won out in Washington, but meantime David Niles, another presidential aide, had got Truman's ear to whisper, "You know that President Roosevelt said to some of us privately he could do anything that needed to be done with Ibn Saud with a few million dollars," and, "The danger of unifying the Moslem world can be discounted because a good part of the Moslem world follows Gandhi and his philosophy of nonresistance."

Truman was frequently irked by abrasive and "disrespectful" Zionists who pestered him—when he said as much to his old Missouri friend Eddie Jacobson, the latter opined that his "dear friend, the President of the United States, was as close to being an antisemite as any man could possibly be"—but not so irked that he was ready to cut off his nose to spite his face. In 1946, with an eye to the congressional go-to, he made a speech on Yom Kippur in which he came out snorting for a Jewish state: early in 1948, he reneged on his commitment of the previous November to a UN-approved partition scheme for Palestine. In May of that same year, with an eye this time to securing New York's delegates to the Democratic convention over the summer and the state itself in the fall, he recognized Israel as a sovereign nation. In the interval, he had been badly scared: New York Representative Arthur G. Klein (D.) had publicly described the earlier reversal as "the most terrible sellout of the common people since Munich."

Truman, no doubt recoiling from the realization that he had dealt so enormous a proportion of the world's population so invidious a blow, reconsidered. Though of course he won the White House in November of 1948 he lost New York; Snetsinger suggests that, had the Jewish vote in Ohio, California, and Illinois gone less solidly for Truman, the President would not have flaunted that newspaper the morning after.

TRUMAN WROTE in his *Memoirs*, "I think I can say I kept my faith in the rightness of my policy in spite of some of the Jews." In these glowing days following the resurrection of Harry Truman as a bestseller it is prudent to take note, as Snetsinger has done, of the fact that Truman, like his predecessors and successors *seriatim*, was capable of telling some tall ones and that he lied through his teeth and fudged the evidence with conscientious regularity.

"With all its contradictions and vacillations," Snetsinger concludes, "Truman's Palestine-Israel policy offers an extraordinary example of foreign policy conducted in line with short range political expediency rather than long range national goals." The question delicately avoided by Mr. Snetsinger is whether or not that policy was inimical to America's "long range national goals." □

The Nazi Movement in the United States, 1924-1941
By Sander Diamond
Cornell, 380 pp., $15

WHAT WASN'T THERE

JACK CHATFIELD

A nation's history is defined as much by what is missing from it as by what is there, and perhaps no nation on earth is as famous for her blank spots as the United States. Tocqueville was as fascinated by what he did not find here as by what he did, and many of his successors, both native and foreign, have taken their inspiration from the great empty spaces of the American past. Stanley Elkins began his reexamination of American slavery after reflecting on the absence of organized slave resistance in the antebellum South. Two generations before, Werner Sombart, a European intrigued by the peculiarities of industrial America, wrote an essay called "Why Is There No Socialism in the United States?" One can think of others that still remain to be written. In *Commentary* recently Andrew Greeley remarked that the historian of ethnic America is bound to be struck by the ease with which immigrant groups have been joined to the mainstream of American life. What characterizes this most pluralistic of nations is the relative mildness of the nativist tradition and intergroup conflict.

Sander Diamond knows a significant empty place when he sees one. In 380 well documented if occasionally poorly written pages he illustrates the significance of the German-American Bund. He understands that the sheer inconsequence of a thing may be as rich in implication as the bloodiest revolution or the most powerful ruler. Important lessons reside in the careers of failed social movements and doomed ideologies. American Nazism can tell us

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something about the America of the Depression years.

Much has been made, and rightly so, of the quasifascist social movements of the Thirties. Yet they never seemed to be as strong as their leaders and their adherents claimed. Father Coughlin's radio audience may have been vast, but it evaporated on election day. The Coughlinite ticket never drew a million votes. And when compared to movements like Coughlinism, the German-American Bund was a withered vine indeed.

As Diamond demonstrates, the Bund was an exotic growth without roots in American soil. Even in the movement's years of hope (beginning with Hitler's coming to power in 1933 and ending after the *Kristallnacht* of November 1938), the Bund's membership never exceeded 25,000, and well over half of its active members were native-born Germans who had immigrated to the United States after the First World War. Diamond's book is cold comfort for those historians (if there are any left) who are still rummaging through the New Deal years looking for evidence of the "fascist threat." Even the Nazi government deserted the Bund and viewed the American *Bundesleiter*, Fritz Kuhn, as a poseur and liar. Kuhn, a veteran of the Western Front, had his big moment during the 1936 Olympics when he spent three minutes with the Führer and was urged to keep up the good work. Hitler greeted thousands of well-wishers during the Berlin Olympics, but Kuhn described his brief audience as a laying on of hands. The Reich government actually felt that the American Nazis threatened normal diplomatic relations between Germany and the United States. In 1937 the German ambassador wrote: "Nothing has resulted in so much hostility in the last few months as the stupid and noisy activities of a handful of German-Americans." Their efforts to unite the German community under the swastika banner were, he said, "absurd."

The reasons why the Bund was never more than a tiny movement perched on the outer edge of extremist politics are not hard to come by. The *Amerikadeutscher Volksbund* was an organization of German exiles which might have made political sense in the Sudetenland or Alsace-Lorraine. But in New York, Detroit, and Cincinnati, even the German communities shunned the group's Volkish claptrap and its antisemitic rantings. In contrast to Central and Eastern Europe, a virulent and obsessive antisemitism has always gone against the American grain. Seymour Lipset was surprised a decade ago to discover that antisemites could not be found among the members of the California John Birch Society, and that Senator McCarthy was more likely to attract *philosemites* than those who still owned a battered copy of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and spoke darkly among themselves about the "Jewish-Bolshevik menace." The American Nazi movement was founded upon a brand of antisemitism which was alien to the American environment. No less alien, of course, were its military trappings and its defiant Germanism. The movement never attempted to broaden its base, though it did have fraternal meetings with the Klan. In retrospect, it is clear that, in spite of the extravagant fears of Manhattan Congressman Samuel Dickstein, whose special committee "investigated" the Bund and estimated its membership at several hundred thousand, the American Nazi movement was doomed from the start.

Diamond's book is an able postmortem. He has performed an invaluable service in poring through a mountain of German documents to show that the Bund was never under Hitler's direction and was in fact seen as a liability by German officials and diplomats. The lesson to be drawn from this is clear: during times of social unrest a trivial social movement may be magnified under the glare of publicity until it looks like a rampaging monster. The importance of the Bund was in the alarm it aroused. It never threatened the nation. If it temporarily impaired our good sense, we have only ourselves to blame. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

STRINGER, *by Ward Just (Atlantic/Little, Brown, 199 pp., $5.95).* A beautifully written but maddeningly obscure novel—allegorical, sentences loaded with symbols planted as carefully as antipersonnel mines, a deceptively simple plot that moves from apparent reality through insanity into what seems to be an updated version of Sartre's existentialist hell. Stringer (the name itself is symbolic), an intelligence agent operating in an unnamed Asian country, plants sensors along an unnamed trail down which unidentified troops in black pajamas periodically come padding. The sensors guide in an air strike which demolishes a convoy. Stringer's partner is killed by a convoy survivor, Stringer escapes, and precisely two-thirds of the way through the novel he is blasted into insanity and/or death. The last third of the novel is set in a nameless capital where Stringer, captured, tries to make sense of his senseless past. The capital may be a real place. Or it may be hell. Or, God forbid, it may be heaven. But that's the problem with *Stringer*. You can interpret it any way you want. It will be read as a novel about Vietnam, especially since Just was *Washington Post* correspondent there for 18 months. But Just, born like Stringer in 1935, seems most interested in explaining not the war itself, but rather how his generation viewed itself in relation to that war, a job he could do more effectively by writing about his own journalistic experiences.

JOHN R. COYNE JR.

I WAS A DRUG ADDICT, *by Leroy Street (Arlington, 246 pp., $7.95).* Sure. Lots of people were drug addicts. But not in 1910, when heroin was over-the-counter cough medicine. Nor in 1917, when New York state ran a morphine clinic. Legalization, drug maintenance, control by prescription, oral cures—Leroy Street (a pseudonym) experienced them all. He not only survived but prospered, and even attained a measure of fame. The book tells exactly how Mr. Street broke a 13-year habit, and introduces you to Typhoid Mary and Gene Tunney along the way. An exciting glimpse into the past, vividly written, relevant, inspiring, and informative.

ALAN REYNOLDS

VICTORIA R.I., *by Elizabeth Longford (Harper, 287 pp., illus., $15).* This is not a new book but, rather, an abbreviated pictorial version of Countess Longford's 1964 biography of Queen Victoria, *Born to Succeed*—a work that fully lived up to its title. A sturdy, pleasantly illustrated volume, *Victoria R.I.* does its subject justice and retains the flavor and spirit of the longer original text, perhaps the best biographical treatment ever of the little lady who presided over Britain's golden age. She could be stubborn, foolish, and petty at times, but she had a large heart and an often-underestimated brain, and, when properly primed by a man like Disraeli, she tackled her job with something close to zest, despite widow's weeds and frequent soupy disclaimers. The Queen Empress was a woman of enormous energy who took her mission seriously in big things and small. At one point she even dashed off a detailed memo to Scotland Yard outlining stepped-up security measures to be taken against Jack the Ripper, little suspecting that some historical scandal mongers would later claim that the anonymous ghoul was none other than her grandson, the odd Duke of Clarence. That would hardly have amused her, but one suspects that Countess Longford's perceptive and affectionate biography would.

ARAM BAKSHIAN JR.

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ORNSTEIN

(Continued from page 481)

The truth is that under the guise of justice, we have permitted an absurd and illegal policy—a reverse South African policy—to take effect, under which individuals are identified and rewarded or penalized according to race. This mocks everything that the civil rights movement sought to accomplish in the past; it institutionalizes a double standard; it discriminates against people who have had no part in discriminating in the past; it discourages excellence and fosters mediocrity. And it is incoherent and indefensible.

This policy has been produced, it is important to note, not by popular demand or the actions of elected officials, but by a few middle-ranking officials in the Departments of Labor and HEW and their offshoots, who have revised and reinterpreted Executive Orders No. 4 and 11246. It is doubtful the policy could survive if people simply had the guts to throw body count compliance questionnaires into the wastebasket, and filed countersuits and sought injunctions against the application of a law that violates the same individual rights and due process the law was intended to protect. And think of what might happen to affirmative action if everyone were to claim minority status. Surely it is time for the general sense of reality and justice to prevail over the arbitrary decrees of a few unelected bureaucrats. □

VARNADO

(Continued from page 482)

it's too late. Now if there were some way to get every last investor in the country scared as hell, I think the market would stop going down. It might even go up.

Q. That's . . . fascinating. I wonder if we could talk a bit about Watergate. How has Watergate affected the public's fears?

A. I think it has relieved them considerably.

Q. Oh, really? How so?

A. Well, you see, people have always been subconsciously afraid of Richard Nixon. He has posed a psychic threat to the public for a long time, and now Watergate has exorcised that threat.

Q. Could you explain that a bit further?

A. Yes. You see, Nixon represents the "Father Image"—to use Freud's term—in its starkest form. The stern moral stance, the uncomfortable smile, the talk about "work ethics" and the Boy Scouts. Why the man is practically a walking Superego. He reminds people of their father, and every man fears his father. I think this accounts for the enormous vote he got in the '72 election. People were afraid to vote against him. McGovern, on the other hand, looked like everybody's easygoing, ne'er-do-well uncle. See what I mean?

Q. More or less. I wonder if we could end our discussion by having you give us some ways to overcome our fears?

A. Well, that's a highly individualized matter. In the ultimate analysis, every man must work out his own solution. But there are a few basics. Fear, you see, is a body-mind reaction. Fear arises when certain obscure glandular functions are triggered by mental stimuli. When the connection between mind and body is severed—even temporarily—fear dissipates.

Q. Could you give me an example?

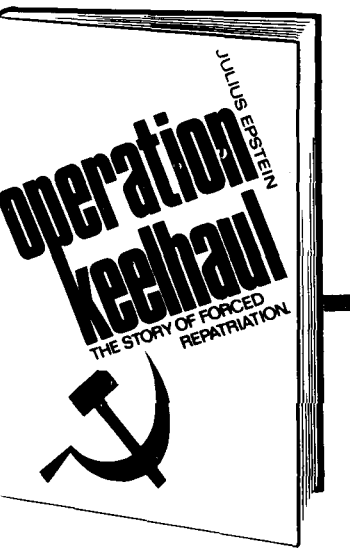
A. Certainly. A corpse. In the case of a corpse, you have the classic dissociation of mind from body. A corpse fears nothing.

Q. True, but how does that help me overcome my fears?

A. I'm coming to that. Ask yourself what state most closely approximates that of a corpse. Drunkenness, you will probably say, but even more so—sleep. Sleep is the best antidote to fear. As long as you are asleep, you are not afraid. Drunkenness, as I said, runs sleep a close second. A third possibility would be to numb your whole body by means of some anesthetic.

Q. Hmmm. Are these really practical solutions?

A. No, but you asked. Of course, if you want something more cut and dried, I can give you a few approaches to use. 1) If you see something dangerous about to hurt you—run! If you can't run, call the police. 2) Make friends with some large, aggressive person and stay around him a lot. Of course, be sure that it's not somebody that you yourself are afraid of. 3) If you find that it helps, wear one of those "Happy Face" pins. 4) Put all poisons and dangerous chemicals out of reach of small children. Never carry explosives in your car. Test all electrical appliances to make sure they are well insulated. Check your attic for oil-soaked rags and debris. All these things should help you overcome your fears. If they don't—well, you're on your own, as they say. □



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Personal

(NR extends maximum freedom in this column, but NR's maximum freedom may be another man's straitjacket. NR reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable. —Pub.)

PRESENTABLE SINGLE GUY, 26, interested in tennis, hiking, reading and the whereabouts of a nice girl within 200 miles of Hartford, Connecticut. Write NR Box 1782.

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EDITH GREEN:

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LETTERS

(Continued from page 461)

to bow the knee and submit to intellectual slavery. It may interest you to know that Dmitrii Shostakovich has, with others, gone so far as to denounce this statement and Sakharov in particular.

The only flaw which I might point out in the wording of the Appeal is the obvious omission in clause number two. While I am very much behind those who would see Solzhenitsyn protected from persecution, this must be applicable to *all* Soviet and Communist-bloc peoples, not just to him.

Again, my thanks and support of the Appeal.

Wenham, Mass. KENT L. BARRY

I am writing this to signify this citizen's support for the Appeal by the dissident Soviets. This Appeal should rightfully be supported by both conservatives and liberals (which is how I proudly designate myself). NATIONAL REVIEW deserves commendation for its continual support for Solzhenitsyn and for its relentless insistence on freedom for all the victims of Soviet persecution, Russian and non-Russian. Though I usually disagree with the magazine's positions, on this one I am proudly behind it to the fullest extent.

Astoria, N.Y. RONALD RICCARDI

I am just writing to tell you that I support wholeheartedly the text of the Appeal issued by Soviet scholars, scientists, and dissidents, which appeared in the March 29 issue of NATIONAL REVIEW. I also agree fully with each of the four demands listed in the Appeal. I hope the Appeal receives wide promulgation and I wish this enterprise good fortune.

Garden City, N.Y. MIKE DELANEY

This letter is written to express my support for the appeal issued by Soviet dissidents and published in the March 29 issue of NATIONAL REVIEW.

I would also like to express my support for the publication of all the archives and all the documents that can give the complete picture of the role played by the Western Allies in forcing innocent people to return to the Soviet Union to face torture and death at the end of World War II.

San Diego, Calif. STEPHEN J. RAWLINSON

I would like to offer my support of "An Appeal" of the Russian scholars. Please forward my endorsement to the American committee, if it materializes, and to the European supporters of the Appeal.

You may use my name in their statement of support.

Wishing you Godspeed in your efforts on behalf of freedom.

Teaneck, N.J. DR. PAUL JANKIEWICZ
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WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

The Resignation Proposal

On The Right

New York, April 4—Even the water buffalo and the springbok in Africa were talking about the startling recommendation of the tormented junior senator from New York, that Richard Nixon resign the Presidency *pro bono publico*. Returning from abroad, and examining the response to his suggestion, one is struck by a number of misunderstandings which appear to have become institutionalized in American thought, not only among conservatives, but among liberals as well.

Most of them, in my judgment, are explicitly or inexplicitly incorporated in a two-sentence statement by a Republican congressman from Tennessee, Mr. Dan Kuykendall. He is quoted as saying: "Senator Buckley's proposal is most dangerous as it would affect the Republic in its operations. His willingness to see a man forced out of office without proof of impeachable conduct shows a lack of understanding as to how this Republic was formed and how it operates."

If Mr. Nixon were to resign, would he in fact have been forced out of office? To answer in the affirmative, it is required that the word "forced" be used metaphorically. Because—obviously—there is no way to "force" Mr. Nixon out of office other than to impeach him and convict him. Inasmuch as Senator Buckley looks with horror at that prospect, the first part of which is by all accounts imminent, then the point to make is that Senator Buckley desires very much that Nixon should not be "forced" out of office.

If Mr. Kuykendall is using the word figuratively, then the question to ask is: are we really committed to the proposition that the people should not express themselves concerning that which they desire? Here again a distinction is necessary. If Senator Buckley had said that every time the American people desire a President to resign he should do so, he would have thrown in his lot with the plebiscitarians—with whom, as a conservative, he desires no affiliation. But he is not saying that. Nowhere in his profound statement is there a hint of it. He did not say that Mr. Nixon should resign because the majority of the American people would rather have another President. He said he should resign because the alternatives—for America—are less desirable. The alternatives being a) the probability of impeachment and the possibility of conviction; b) a presumptive suspicion of presidential policies reflecting the loss of confidence in Mr. Nixon; and c) an Executive weakened as an institution by tormentors who, in their anxiety to get Nixon, are likely to move further than is good for the institution of the Presidency.

Charles de Gaulle participated in a coup d'état, in effect, one of the principal purposes of which was to establish a strong Presidency. Even so, at a certain point, General de Gaulle, surveying the situation about him—resigned. He did not do so in order to inaugurate the plebiscitary government he replaced when he overthrew the Fourth Republic. He did it because the signals suggested France would be better off without him. Edward VIII, King of England, was not "forced" to resign: he elected to do so, and there are very few Englishmen—conservative as regards the monarchy in a sense unknowable to American republicans—who now believe that he did other than the statesmanlike thing. Very recently the Governor of New York State, elected in a landslide, resigned. His motives were complicated. But even his critics do not believe that he did anything venal by resigning, or that he betrayed his mandate. Any more than Richard Nixon would betray his mandate, if he decided to turn over the reins of government to his own appointed successor, Gerald Ford. Mr. Nixon has time and again stressed that he was elected in order to carry out certain programs. Does he recognize that he is saying, in effect, that these programs would not be carried out under his successor, Gerald Ford: if that is the case, why did he appoint Mr. Ford?

I understand Senator Buckley to have asked the President to perform an act of noblesse oblige. That is to say, to put his country's interests above his own. That is not, surely, to misunderstand republican government, but to express the highest faith in it. Those who are hell bent to impeach Mr. Nixon rather than to urge his resignation are the bloodlusters, hiding under the skirts of constitutional formalism. Maybe Senator Buckley's recommendations are misguided. Certainly they are not oustide the spirit of the Constitution, which three times mentions presidential resignation as a possibility. □

UNDERSTANDING CONSERVATIVES *New York*, April 8—It is interesting the extent to which we make ourselves the slaves of our enemies. I give you an example. I profoundly believe that the editorial page of the *New York Times* is almost supernaturally consistent in its wrongheadedness. I believe, further, that its two most conspicuously ideologized spokesmen, Messrs. Tom Wicker and Anthony Lewis, add to the *Times*' editorial opinions a touch of nastiness (quite alien, as it happens, to their own personal good nature) that makes the blood boil. Wicker will ask us all to devote ourselves to the cause of disbarring Spiro Agnew after he has stepped down from the Vice Presidency, and Anthony Lewis will liken the air offensive against North Vietnam in December 1972 to the acts of a madman, a Hitlerite. Under the circumstances, one feels—instinctively—the temptation to disagree with any position taken by the *New York Times*, Wicker, and Lewis. *Tout court.*

And, of course, in doing so we extend to them precisely that influence over us that we deplore. The influence of an opinion journalist is measured not only by his success in working his view upon others, but by his success in turning others against his views. To the extent we do this automatically—spastically—we have lost our independence of thought. It is so nowadays with many conservatives who, on the matter of Mr. Nixon's future, are inflamed at the thought of his impeachment, or his resignation: because that is what

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Wicker, and Lewis, and CBS, and the ACLU and the whole gang want.

It was as recently as in the summer of 1971 that a dozen leading conservatives issued a statement "suspending their support" of Richard Nixon. This they did following upon Nixon's overtures to China, his institution of wage and price controls, the imminent SALT agreement and the relative weakening of the U.S. military position, the vast and swollen federal budget. Indeed shortly before, the *New York Times* had said about Nixon that his progressive policies, domestic and international, had stripped American conservatives of their old doctrines. So that when these conservatives suspended their support of Mr. Nixon there was very little opposition. Sure, Senators Goldwater, Buckley, Tower, and Thurmond and Governor Reagan didn't go along. What then happened was George McGovern. He transformed all disaffected conservatives into Nixon boosters.

Now Mr. Nixon's policies, national and international, have not substantially changed. Sometimes (as in his handling of the energy crisis) he takes a "conservative," free market view. Sometimes (as in his elephantiasic budget), he takes positions liberal, or neosocialist in character. In international affairs he is still hotly in pursuit of detente. Yet on the whole, American conservatives are wildly—or rather desperately—pro-Nixon. They are not, I repeat, wildly pro-Nixon because Nixon's policies are those of a Goldwater or a Reagan or a Buckley. But because Nixon is the target of what one might loosely call Eastern Seaboard liberalism.

Indeed the psychological surrender to one's enemies is all the more extraordinary when one reflects that the entire Nixon apparatus, bent on effecting his reelection, is in quite genuine disgrace. No less authorized a gentleman than Vice President Gerald Ford has denounced thoroughly the policies and practices of the Committee to Reelect the President. Mr. Nixon's association with his own team—never mind for the moment the particular question of what he did or didn't say to John Dean or what he did or didn't put down in his tax forms—has brought discredit to conservative principles insofar as, in the public mind, Mr. Nixon is thought of as a leader of conservative America. Still the conservatives cling to him: and this they do mostly—I am myself convinced —because the alternative is to wake up in the morning and find that they are in agreement with a particular conclusion reached by the *New York Times*.

Really it is an abject form of capitulation, to permit yourself to be dominated by the thought and analysis of your enemies. But it is very hard to break away from the habit because, among other things, it requires that you face the truth about yourself, and to face the truth about yourself is a very very painful thing to have to do. □

THE UNHOLY IMPEACHMENT PROCESS

New York, April 10—I have not seen it anywhere discussed whether, if the Founding Fathers had met today to consider the process by which a President should be removed, they would simply reiterate the provisions of Article II Section 4. Since I believe it utterly unlikely that they would, it follows that the solemn invocations of the impeachment Article are an exercise in ancestor worship of a very nearly superstitious sort.

The Constitution is a grand instrument. But most of that which makes it so has been tested and retested, modified, interpreted, developed. The impeachment clause is a provision which has been exercised on a President only once, over a hundred years ago. It sits there like a bizarre chemical weapon prescribed by the military handbook for use in a concatenation of special circumstances. These circumstances are now shaping up. But the detonation of the prescribed weapon, developed in a different age, correctly appalls.

Surely if the impeachment clause had been invoked frequently, say every 30 or 40 years since the birth of the Republic, several understandings would by now have been reached as to its applicability. For instance, the question would finally have been disposed of, whether a President could be impeached for committing other than indictable crimes. But even more important, the question would have been faced how to protect the country against the consequences of a Chief Executive rendered either impotent or desperate. I cannot believe, for instance, that if impeachment had been a regular experience of the United States, those who bring up the 25th Amendment prescribing for the indisposition of the President would have failed to specify that a President impeached must defer to the Vice President until the Senate had reached a verdict. Something that simple, that reasonable, would relieve the country of a terrible anxiety which, under the specified scenario, looms. To the question: why did not the Philadelphia Convention anticipate this—one can only answer that it is not reasonable that Madison, Hamilton, and Jay should have had a science-fiction imagination into the nature of mid-twentieth century international life. It is not reasonable to suppose that they would imagine that a President effectively out of action for as much as five or six months would imperil the executive function. In the period between the impeachment and the exoneration of Andrew Johnson, nothing happened that would make its way into the front page of a modern newspaper. Already a congressman of some prestige, Mr. Aspin of Wisconsin, has proposed a bill that would remove from the President, during the period of impeachment, the right to sign a treaty. One wonders at the constitutionality of Mr. Aspin's proposal, but not at its reflecting a genuine concern for the dangers of impeachment proceedings in a razzle-dazzle age.

There are liberals who want impeachment because they want the satisfaction of a public trial followed by a public execution. I remember the lead wire ticker dispatch from UPI on that tense night when the world was waiting to hear the news that the victors' justice finally had been done in Nuremberg. "FLASH. HERMANN GOERING CHEATED DEATH TONIGHT BY COMMITTING SUICIDE." Subsequent and embarrassed modifications came in over the wire straightening out that sentence, but not before it had gone out worldwide. It is so with the gentlemen I speak of. They desire the removal of President Nixon, yes; but they desire that it be done in full constitutional regalia. They like the idea of "proving" their case; and they like the idea of inflicting humiliations and torture. They don't want Nixon to "cheat them" out of the comsummation of their dream.

As so often is the case, their objective is strangely harmonious with that of many conservatives, who believe in going through with the impeachment ritual because they feel that it is the best chance of getting an acquittal. Already, in their chambers, they have out score cards. How would Senator So-and-So be expected to vote? Hardly ever do they pause to say: well, that depends on what the evidence is, or on how it is marshaled. Instead they draw their conclusions based on their construction of a particular senator's loyalty to the person of Richard Nixon. It is like preferring a jury to a judge if you feel that you can endear yourself to at least one intransigently pro-defendant juror. But the country suffers.

This is why the arguments abound for resignation, in the event of impeachment; or, failing that, for absenting himself from office, as is possible under the 25th Amendment, for the duration of the ordeal. □

(Washington Star Syndicate, Inc.)

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Trans-O-Gram

By SVEND PETERSEN

DEFINITIONS

A. A classy exertion
45 90 166 53 152 110 4 17

B. A card game
51 161 18 38 8 68

C. What the Senate might add to a bill during a late session
59 11 156 116 120 128 138 26 144 162

D. Something that counteracts
83 12 111 167 55 49 131 123

E. A form of voting
69 147 105 27 74 13 97 93 127

F. County seat of Monona County, Iowa
79 82 56 136 39

G. THIN FLOUR ELM
122 28 54 70 89 1 112 117 48 78
84 101

H. The Bronx' gift to Congress
149 7 16 62 66 76 160 86 32 129

I. Intrepid
20 25 35 52 92 9 73 47

J. A type of raft
33 85 19 106 57 125 50 157 114

K. Catcher who was traded from the Phillies to the Cubs; managed in both big leagues
107 169 10 153 14 98 58 29

L. Residue
164 21 40 30

M. To make beloved
3 170 63 132 31 134

N. A cotton trade center north of Jackson, Miss.
87 64 168 94 100 42 81 60 143

O. A type of neck injury
124 2 5 99 22 24 37 72

P. Renounce
113 6 75 118 163 61 126 41

Q. The largest lake in South America
115 121 77 108 133 165 103 43

R. Uplift
135 159 140 148 104

S. What may be done to a number
146 95 44 109 137

T. First name of one of the signers of the Constitution
67 150 96 119 102 158 171

U. Islands in the Bay of Bengal
142 151 139 88 65 145 80

V. Sea gulls that might follow a circuitous route
71 46 34 155 23

W. Impose as a necessary accompaniment or result
91 141 36 130 154 15

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the WORDS (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 496 for solution of last Trans-O-Gram.

1 G	2 O	3 M		4 A	5 O	6 P	7 H	8 B	9 I	10 K		11 C	12 D	13 E	14 K	15 W
16 H	17 A	18 B	19 J	20 I	21 L	22 O	23 V		24 O	25 I	26 C		27 E	28 G	29 K	30 L
31 M	32 H	33 J	34 V	35 I	36 W	37 O		38 B	39 F	40 L	41 P		42 N	43 Q	44 S	45 A
46 V	47 I		48 G	49 D	50 J	51 B		52 I	53 A	54 G	55 D	56 F	57 J	58 K	59 C	60 N
61 P	62 H		63 M	64 N	65 U	66 H	67 T	68 B		69 E	70 G		71 V	72 O	73 I	74 E
	75 P	76 H	77 Q	78 G	79 F	80 U		81 N	82 F		83 D		84 G	85 J	86 H	87 N
	88 U	89 G	90 A	91 W	92 I	93 E	94 N	95 S	96 T		97 E	98 K		99 O	100N	101G
102T	103Q	104R		105E	106J	107K	108Q	109S	110A		111D	112G	113P	114J		115Q
116C	117G		118P	119T	120C	121Q	122G	123D		124O	125J	126P	127E	128C	129H	130W
131D	132M		133Q	134M	135R	136F		137S	138C	139U		140H	141W		142U	
143N	144C	145U	146S		147E	148R		149H	150T	151U	152A	153K	154W	155V	156C	
157J	158T	159R		160H	161B	162C	163P	164L	165Q	166A	167D	168N	169K	170M	171T	

Mr. Petersen's Trans-O-Grams are in book form ($2.50) available from NR Box 1774.

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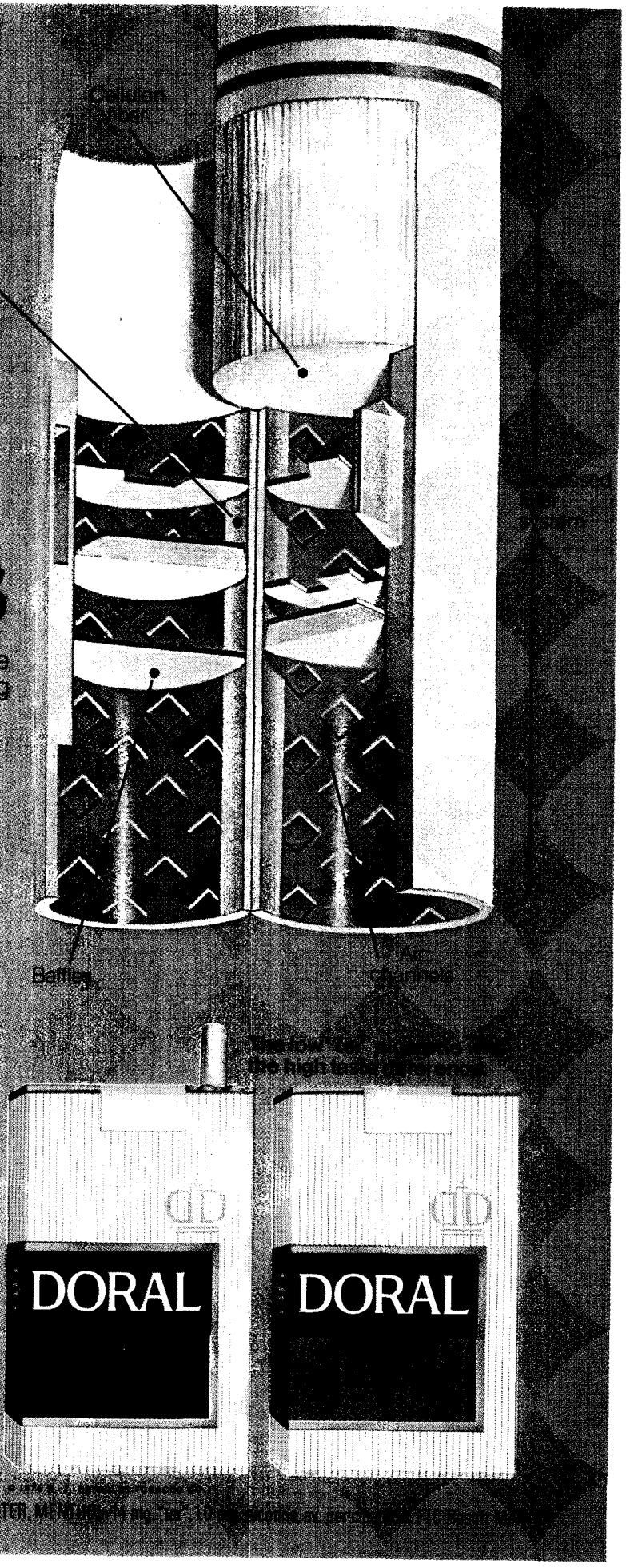

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